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NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

The Later History

OF

British, Spanish, and

Portuguese America

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR

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[*The cut on the title represents the arms of Brazil.*]

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NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

CHAPTER I.

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY.[1]

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS, D. D., LL. D.,

President Massachusetts Historical Society.

THE most lavish liberality or generosity exhibited in this world of men is shown in the bestowal of a gift which does not belong to the donor of it. In such cases there is generally a very slight knowledge, if not an absolute ignorance, of the quality and value of the gift; so the terms of it are likely to be not only very general but very loose and vague. Indeed, part of the charm of such a gift will consist in the undefined possibilities, the imagined revelations, which may go with it. The burdens and responsibilities attending the acceptance of it, and the trespasses upon the rights of others, the injuries likely to be inflicted upon them, and the struggles, animosities, and controversies, with the risk of final discomfiture, in the maintenance of such a possession, are either not taken into account, or are winked out of sight.

These familiar truths were signally illustrated, on a very grand scale too, in the gifts made by ecclesiastics and monarchs of the old world of expanses of territory on this western hemisphere, when opened by the early navigators. Under the latest advances of astronomical science, spaces in the moon might now be almost as definitely assigned to claimants for them as were the regions of this new world. Before it was known whether what had been discovered here were an island, an archipelago, or a continent, it was made over in a lump by the Pope to the monarchs of Spain. It was under the famous Bull of Demarcation that Spain was shortly after, by a convention with Portugal, forced to divide to a small extent with that power. Notwithstanding such papal partiality,[2] Francis of France soon claimed his

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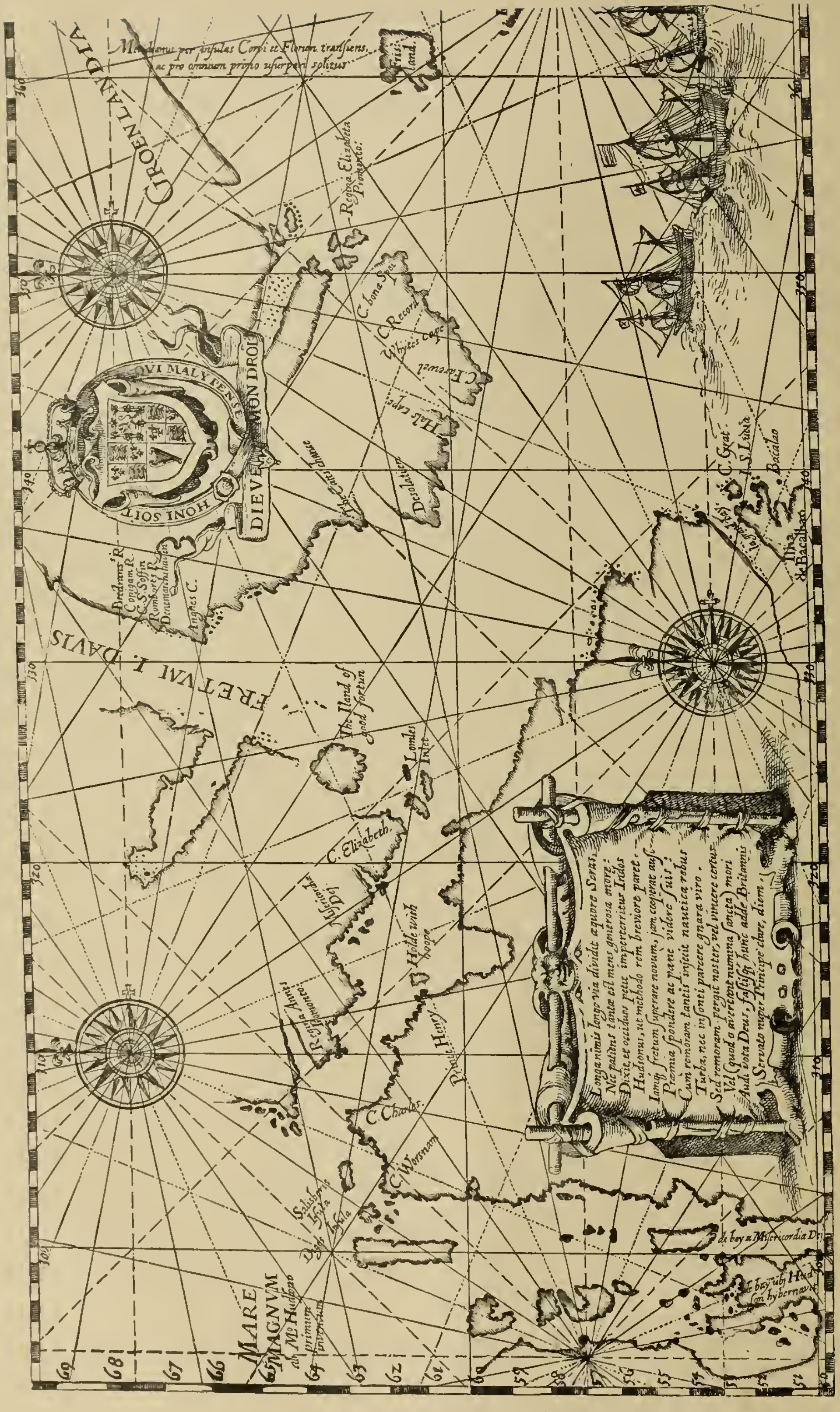
[1] [Dr. Ellis has given a summary of this chapter in the *Bulletin of the Amer. Geog. Soc.*, 1886, No. 2, pp. 127–136. — ED.]

[2] [See Vol. II. — ED.]


Meridianus per insulas Corvi et Florum transiens, ac pro omnium primo usurpari solitus
GROENLANDIA
Frisland
Regina Elizabeta Promontorio:
C. bona Spei
C. Record
Whytes cape
C. Farewel
Hals cape
Desolation
The Cittes chose
QUI MALY PENSE
HONI SOIT
DIEU ET MON DROIT
Bredrans R.
Conigam R.
C. Soffin
Romboutes R.
Denmarchshaven
Anghes C.
FRETUM I. DAVIS
The Iland of good fortun
Lomles Inlet
C. Elizabeth
Mysericordia Dei
Holde with hoope
Regina Annes Promontorio:
Prince Henry
C. Charles
C. Worsnam
Salisburys Insula
Digs Insula
MARE MAGNUM
ab Mr. Hudsono primum inventum
C. Grat
S. Lucia
Bacalao
Ilha de Bacalhao
de bay u Misericordia Dei
de bay ubi Hudsonum hybernavit
Longa nimis longo via dividit æquore Seras,
Nec patiens tantæ est mens generosa moræ;
Dixit, et occiduos petiit imperterritus Indos
Hudsonus, ut methodo rem breviore paret.
Iamq; fretum ſuperare novum, jam coeperat auſu
Præmia ſpondere ac pæne videre ſuis;
Cum remoram tantis injecit nautica rebus
Turba, nec inſonti parcere gnara viro.
Sed remoram pergit noster, vel vincere certus
Vel (quod o avertant numina ſancta) mori
Audi vota Deus, faſtiſq; hunc adde Britannis
Servato nuper Principe clare, diem.
360
350
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310
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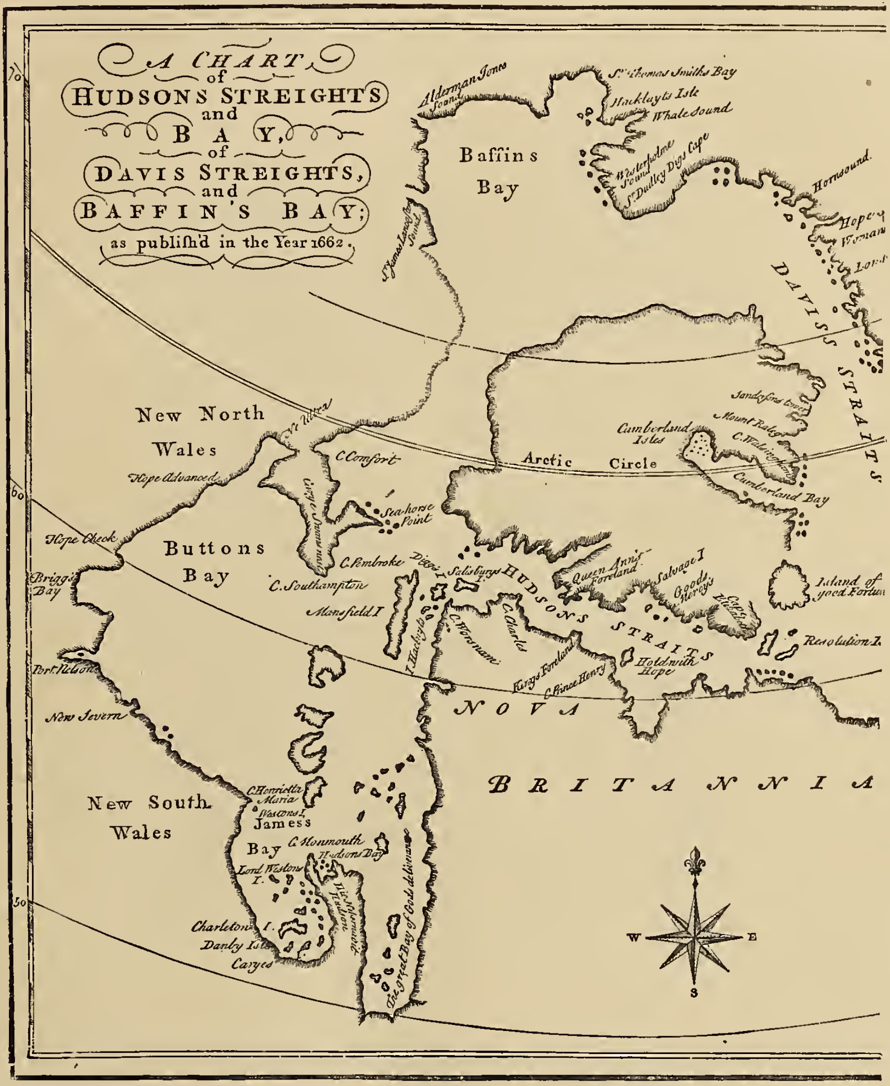
51

TABULA NAUTICA, 1612.*

share in the real estate left by Adam. Then the Henrys and the Charleses of England announced themselves also as heirs. These rival sovereigns all wore the complimentary title of "Christian princes." As such they could take rightful possession of all heathendom, — of territory or of people. The sighting of a space of ocean shore by their respective navigators gave a title to the utmost reaches of land bounding upon it. The gifts bestowed were of princely largeness. Of course the boundaries of



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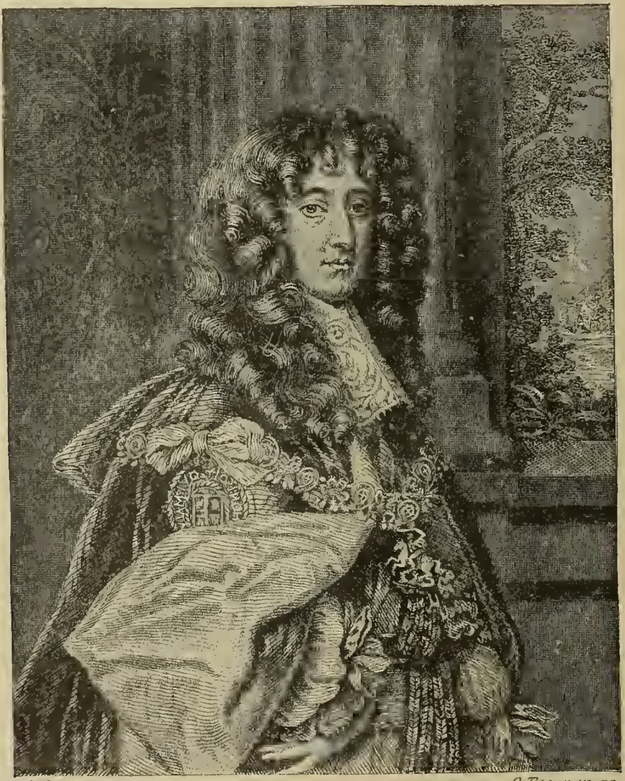
* [NOTE. — The opposite map is from the *Zwölffte Schiffahrt* of the Hulsius *Sammlung* (Oppenheim, 1614), being Hessel Gerritsz's *Kurtze Beschreibung der Newen Schiffahrt gegen Nord-osten über die Americanische inseln, etc.*, in *Hochteutscher Sprach beschrieben durch M. Gothardam Arthusen.*

The above cut is a fac-simile of a map in Drage's *Account of a Voyage* (London, 1849), vol. ii. — ED.]

these vast donations of territory, on the side where they were measurable, generally overlapped each other, and on the other side they ran off into shadows. When it is considered that these gifts of expanded territory not only transferred all their material contents and resources, but also included the sovereignty and mastership over their human inhabitants, we can somewhat appreciate the lavish liberality of those who gave away what did not belong to them, and recognize the vagueness in the terms of the gifts, which would inevitably bring about rivalry and conflicts attending claims to possession.



PRINCE RUPERT.*

King Charles II of England was one of the most bountiful of these lavish donors. But with a single notable exception, in favor of William Penn, who received a province in discharge of a crown debt due to his father, the king's generosity was exercised exclusively towards members of his own family. He gave to his brother, the Duke of York, the rich expanses from Pemaquid to the St. Croix, and from the Connecticut to the Delaware. Another of his gifts furnishes the fruitful and engaging theme — for history, if not in the present treatment of it — of this chapter. To his cousin, Prince Rupert — covering with his name a few associates, the king gave over the icy confines and the rich interiors of what from that time onward has been known as "Prince Rupert's Land." Under a charter dated May 2, 1670, by his own "especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion," without advice or confirmation by council or Parliament, Charles gave "to his beloved cousin, Prince Rupert," the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Craven, Lord Arlington, Lord Ashley, several baronets, knights and citizens — less than twenty named in all — the territory which was henceforward to be the property of the Hudson Bay Company.

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* [Reproduced from S. Freeman's engraving of Sir Peter Lely's picture, as given in Eliot Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert* (London, 1849). — ED.]

Passing notice may here be taken of the high rank as nobles and gentlemen of those associated with a prince of the royal blood in this mercantile company. This aristocratic character of the members, with its power and privileges, was perpetuated through the succession of the company in the admission of partners and the transfer of shares. The fact is recognized here, at the start, as doubtless having a vast influence subsequently, as we shall see, in protecting and sheltering the company, in enabling it to conceal its secrets and to parry the vigorous assaults made upon its monopoly and management in after years.

The motive assigned for the royal gift was the plea that the corporators "have at their own great cost and charges undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay, for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities, and by such, their undertaking, have already made such discoveries as do encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of their said design, by means whereof there may probably arise very great advantage to us and our kingdom." It does not, however, appear what were "the discoveries already made" by these corporators or their agents, which furnished a reason for the generous grant.

The charter assured to the company "the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds lying within the entrance of Hudson's Straits, with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines" of the above seas, etc. It was stipulated that the territory thus granted should include only such as was not then "possessed by the subjects of any other christian prince or state." The parties named and such others as they shall admit to their society are incorporated as "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," with a seal, etc. They are to choose a committee of seven of their number, any three of whom, with the governor or deputy-governor, may have the direction, management, and handling of all voyages, ships, merchandise, etc. Prince Rupert was to be the first governor; the first seven were named for the committee; a general court was to be held in November of each year, to choose officers and the committee, who were to be removable for reasons. The territory was to be reputed as a British colony, and to be called "Rupert's Land." All fisheries, mines, traffic and trade of every kind, were assured to the company, which was to pay annually as a royalty "two elks and two black beavers." The members of the company were absolute proprietors and lords. It was empowered to make laws and ordinances, to impose penalties and punishments. No English subject was to visit, frequent, or haunt, or adventure, or trade in the territory without leave in writing under the company's seal, under penalty of forfeiture of all goods, of punishment, and of being seized and sent to England. Nor could the king grant any such privilege without leave of the company. Liberty is given to admit servants and factors into the company. Votes are to be according to stock. All the territory and its occupants are to be under the jurisdiction of the company, which shall either send all offenders to England or judge them according to its laws. The company may employ commanders and an armed force, and may erect castles, forts, garrisons, plantations, and towns. Such were the terms, rights, privileges, and immunities bestowed by royal grant and a piece of parchment. Two elks and two black beavers rendered annually to royalty, were the consideration for this lavish gift of territory, jurisdiction, and monopoly.

And what did King Charles know of the regions which he thus bestowed, to say nothing of his right of bestowal? The compass and value of the gift were then as vaguely apprehended as the terms and assurance of it were positive and comprehensive. The flow of water in straits, bays, lakes, rivers, and streams was made to decide the reachings of unbounded spaces of land. Hudson's Bay extends from longitude 78° to 95° west, and from latitude 52° to 68° north. Its area is nearly 300,000 square miles, its length from north to south 1,000 miles, its breadth 800 miles. Of the land surface, whose various waters and drippings find their way into the bay, we hardly even now know the exact measurements, though a part of our national boundary line assumes such measurements.[1]

Before proceeding farther with the administration of the company under the patent, it may be well here, by anticipation, to fix attention upon some of the terms of the charter which furnished the grounds of the long-continued and embittered opposition to the company, and which were urged from time to time for two hundred years before the Colonial Office and in Parliament, till the monopoly rights of the company were extinguished by arbitration and purchase. These grounds of complaint will be more fully noted further on. They are here presented summarily in connection with what has been copied from the charter, and are as follows: 1. That the charter was granted by royal prerogative without ratification. 2. That it was illegal for the Crown to grant a monopoly of trade to a favored company of subjects. 3. That the obligations imposed by the professed objects of the company, to search for a passage to the South Sea, and also to explore for mineral wealth, had been wholly neglected by the company, which sternly discountenanced and withstood all such enterprises when prompted by others. 4. That a part, at least, of the territories claimed by the company was really exempted from the grant made to it which recognized a possible possession by the subjects of some other "Christian prince." For at least a portion of the region had been patented in 1598, by Henry IV of France, to the Sieur de la Roche.[1] It was on the ground of this claim, antedating Prince Rupert's charter, that in 1684 the Chevalier de Troyes had taken and destroyed the posts of the company on Hudson and James bays, on the plea that the territory belonged to his sovereign.

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[1] The limit of the grant by Charles II, as the company claimed, is given by dotted lines on the map, in the parliamentary *Accounts and Papers* (1850), xxxviii. Cf. Douglas Brymner's *Report for 1883*, p. 6, on maps of the bounds of this territory.

There is a noticeable map of Hudson's Bay and the surrounding country in Sanson's *Introduction à la Géographie* (Amsterdam, 1696).

In the long and sharp contest which the opponents of the company made to its monopoly and its administration, it was also complained that the company had been utterly neglectful of its duty in having made no efforts to humanize, civilize, and advance religion and education among the native Indians. It was hastily and erroneously assumed that the charter had imposed this duty upon the company, while in fact no reference whatever is made to it in that instrument. It was abundantly proved, however, that the company had made no efforts of that character such as might have been reasonably expected of Christian people drawing enormous wealth from savages, who, on the contrary, had greatly deteriorated under the company. Most effective and pointed were the charges against it, that it had so greedily devoted itself to the traffic in furs as to keep the whole country in its wilderness condition as a preserve for peltry, making the natives wholly dependent upon the traffic with the company for their subsistence. This consuming interest made the company jealous of any intrusion upon its domains, and all inquiry into its management, while it resolutely resisted every attempt at exploration, civilized settlement, and even agriculture.

The connection of Prince Rupert with this vast enterprise was a very natural one. He was known to be a most earnest and generous patron of all promising adventures. There is evidence that a master mariner from Boston, in New England, had been concerned with a M. Groselliers,[2] from Canada, in making a settlement at Port Nelson, at the mouth of the river, where a little stone fortress was erected by this captain, Zachary Gillam, and called Fort Charles. Rupert had given his countenance to this enterprise in connection with the work of discovery, and the "Nonsuch," one of the king's ships, was obtained for the venture.[3]

We are to trace for the full period of two centuries the fortunes, the mercantile operations, and the disputed rights and policy of this chartered company on the field of its activity and in the councils of government. One might naturally pause upon the almost grotesque disparity of proportions between the vast spaces of territory over which the privileges of the company extended and the smallness of its own representation. But another and a much more striking suggestion presents itself, which will be before us through the whole historical review of our subject. The territory which finally came under the jurisdiction of the company embraced substantially half of the continent of North America. During the period to be reviewed, we have set before us a contrast of events, uses, and experiences as happening upon the two respective halves of this continent, — that which is under the jurisdiction of the United States and that under the British crown, — a contrast which in sum and detail may well astound us. On the lower side of the boundary line the whole scene has been one of advance in enterprise, a steady, vigorous pushing forwards over mountains, plains, and valleys, of tilled fields, of thriving settlements, of sumptuous cities, and of millions of toiling, prosperous peoples. On the upper side a narrow, jealous, obstructive policy had shut out all intrusion upon a wilderness by any but stealthy trappers and the desolate wintering agents of a monopoly in the peltry traffic.

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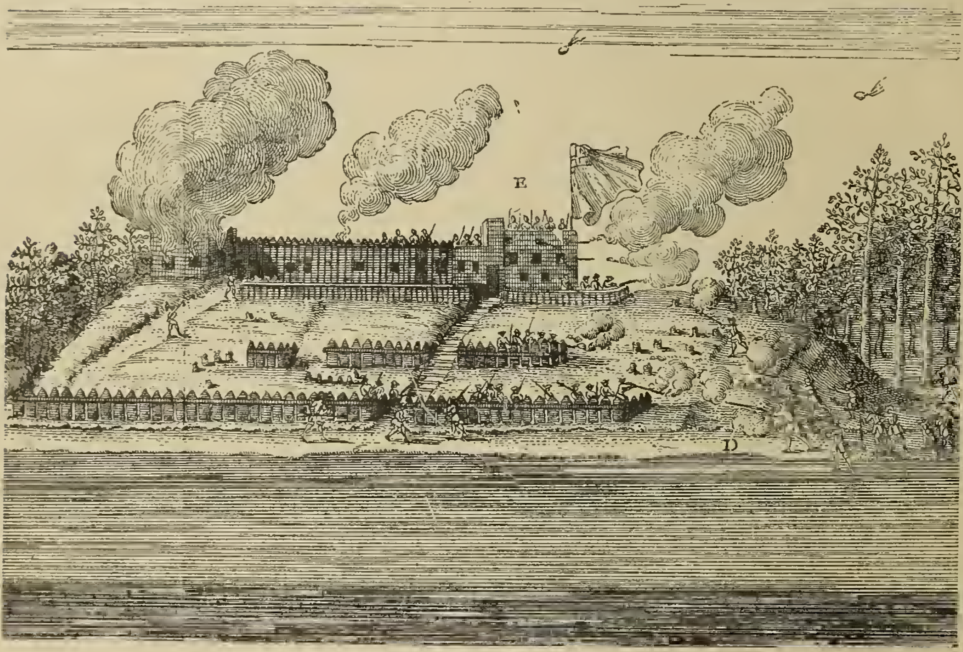
[1] [See Vol. IV. 56, 61, 136. — Ed.]

[2] The name is variously spelled, as Grosseliez, Des Grozeliers, De Grossiliers, De Groselie, etc.

[3] A contemporary reference is made to this affair in a letter from Oldenburgh, the first secretary of the Royal Society, to Robert Boyle, Ellis's *Hudson's Bay*, p. 75. [See also Vol. IV. p. 172, and the *Hutchinson Papers*, iii. 57, 59, 89, 97, 103, 111. — Ed.] As Hudson's and Sir Joseph Button's journals are not extant [see Vol. III. p. 93. — Ed.], the first trustworthy account which we have of any vessel wintering in the bay is that of Captain James, in Charlton Island, in 1632. [See Vol. III. p. 96, for James's map. — Ed.] The next is that of Capt. Gillam, in the "Nonsuch," in 1668, though Jean Bourbon is reputed to have trafficked there in 1656.



FORT NELSON.*

It may well be said that in addition to all the questions which might be raised as to the validity of the charter and the administration of affairs under it, there was a most serious and perplexing vagueness and uncertainty as to the limits of the territory which it covered. There were at the time French half-breed voyageurs who had some faint conception of the interior of the northern parts of our continent, and of the general disposition of land and water in it. But when the king made over to this company all the inland reaches whose waters drained into Hudson's Bay, no Englishman had the slightest knowledge of the interior of the territory. It certainly proved to be, under its claimants, a wellnigh unbounded expanse. We shall see further on that in the sharpest and most bitter contest which the company had to meet, it asked successfully of Parliament a grant, limited for a term of years, and renewed for another term, of an exclusive right of trade in and over the so-called "Indian Territory." This included the whole unknown and unexplored region of the Northwest; and when, in 1848, the company secured a right to plant a colony in Vancouver's Island, its privileges and range extended over a space of territory one third larger than the whole area of Europe, embracing more than four millions of square miles, and hiding in its unknown depths, as afterwards revealed, fifty wild native tribes of men, who, as before intimated, substantially were made over for mastery with the territory, because the company always stoutly maintained that the Indians should trade only with its agents.

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* [Part of an engraving in La Potherie's *Hist. de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1722), i. p. 105. The "Camp de Bourbon" was along the shore to the right. The bomb-shells seen in the air are from its mortars. — Ed.]

The charter of the company, with such validity as it had, retained its vitality for full two centuries, and became the sanction of a giant monopoly, dividing enormous profits to a favored few who did their utmost to shroud their own affairs in secrecy, and to ward off all attempts at interference with its claimed rights and privileges. We shall have to note, however, a continued series of assaults upon the validity of the charter, of grievous complaints against proceedings and practices under it, and of efforts to ensure its abrogation. Each of these grievances and efforts was pressed with increased zeal and determination. We shall have also to recognize the agencies and influences which kept the charter in force. It should be mentioned here that in one of the warmly contested issues of this sort, in 1847, there first appeared in print a document, of which it is said, very strangely, that its "existence had been not even suspected by the British government," but yet it was found in the Rolls of Chancery.[1] This document was a confirmation by Act of Parliament, given to the charter in 1690, under William and Mary. The ground on which this Act was applied for by the company was, that it needed the authority of Parliament beyond that of the Royal Grant, in order to ensure the full benefit of the latter, and to enable the company to keep off French and English interlopers. By seeking and accepting this act, the company certainly indicated a misgiving as to the fullness and assurance of its supposed rights under the charter. Parliament strictly limited its confirmation to a period of seven years. The company shrewdly refrained from seeking a renewal of it.

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[1] *British Documents, Accounts and Papers*, vol. xxxv. p. 95.

Let us pause for a moment to bring before us those then wild regions. Once hid in vastness and gloom, they are now disclosing all their secrets, so that we can read them as they were. The whole territory, whatever its length or breadth, had but one worth or use for the small mercantile company, whose office then, as now, was in Fenchurch Street, London. It was simply as a preserve for fur-bearing animals, and for red Indians who might hunt and trap them. Marvellously well adapted and occupied was the region for that purpose. Its conditions and surroundings could not have been better disposed for just such a use as was made of it; or rather we should say, that under the selfish aims and the mean policy pursued in it no region could have been more rich and facile for the ends to which it was put. We must first view it through the means and methods for entering, penetrating, traversing, and carrying into and bringing out from it supplies and products.

We may imagine that we have before us for study and thought two very large skeleton maps of our northern continent, giving simply the undivided stretches of territory, without boundaries or names. Let one of those maps represent the surface of the country just as it was waiting to be entered upon by Europeans. It will present the general features of the land, plain, hilly, or mountainous, barren or fertile; and it will show the deposits and courses of water in lakes, in confluent or single streams, of every breadth, of river or rill, their sources and outlets. Let the other map represent the same territory with the same delineation, but with the added feature of the lines of our railways at the present stage of the system, supplemented by the projected and probable lines of trunk and branch required and expected to perfect it.

Looking upon those two maps and comparing them in sum and detail, the observer will hardly fail to be impressed with the thought that the country, with its facilities for transit, intercourse, and commerce, was as well adapted by nature for the inhabitants first occupying and using it for their necessities and profit as it is at this day by art, for quite another class of occupants, for quite other uses and advantages. The highways which nature had opened in the wilderness, in the diversified and abounding watercourses, made a perfect reticulation of artery and vein over the whole territory; and there were junctions and branches for divergence in every direction. True, there were obstructions to a continuous passage by these watercourses in heights of land, divides, cataracts, cascades, and rapids. But the Indian could lift his canoe and its burden and carry it over land from water to water, when he could not venture to run the ascending or descending rush; or he could trail his vessel while he walked on the shore. These obstructions or carrying-places of the Indians answer to and were no more annoying to him than are the high grades of our railroads to us. We can see now, as we look upon the land and water map, that any one coming in a ship from Europe, by changing his freight to boats of different size, and occasionally to canoes, may pass through the continent to the Pacific, in spite of breaks or obstructions varying from the length of a few yards to the extreme of ten or twelve miles. The means and facilities for this water transit were especially available and convenient through the regions which were turned to the profit of the Hudson's Bay Company, and it could find junctions and partings of streams and radiations of head-water for dispersing or gathering its supplies or returns. The course from the sea by the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior offered an alternative of routes, either by the Ottawa with its cascades, or by the chain of lakes with its cataract at Niagara and the Falls of St. Mary between Superior and Huron. The Hudson's Bay Company found by experience that, though it kept a firmer hold on its charter, it worked to great disadvantage in conducting its business from the icy coast. Its rivals in the fierce contests for the Indian trade, as we shall have to notice, did better in their choice of routes. From the company's post, York Factory, at the mouth of Hay's River, on the Bay, up the rivers and through Lake Winnipeg to Red River, the distance was about 800 miles, with thirty-six carrying-places. Winnipeg River is full of rapids, as it passes through a rocky country. There are twenty-seven portages in its course, for it descends 360 feet in 160 miles. The rival companies took as their point of departure Fort William, on the northern end of Lake Superior, the route to the Red River being 772 miles, and to Lake Winnipeg 500 miles, through much good territory and hard navigation by canoes, with sixty-six portages varying from a hundred yards to three and a half miles.[1] Crossing Lake Winnipeg, and entering the mouth of the Saskatchewan, with but one formidable rapid in the falls near Cumberland House, one may float on its waters for 1,400 miles up to its source in the Rocky Mountains. There at a few yards' distance he will find a source of the Columbia starting for its discharge into the Pacific. The Columbia and its tributaries drain a region of 400,000 square miles, and the river is navigable, with interruptions, for 725 miles. Its sources on this side are within 450 miles of the deep waters of the Missouri; and lakes, rivers, and brooks will bear canoes through the whole space between. The swamps and marshes and sedges created by all these waters were the chosen and populous homes of the beaver, which had colonized and hibernated here for ages. Unluckily for them, their skins, as most highly prized till the invention of silk hats, set the standard for the money value of all the peltries. Otters, martens, musk-rats, and all the other species of amphibious creatures, with countless herds of buffaloes, moose, bears, deer, foxes, wolves, etc., found here their natural home. As naturally, too, they had multiplied, the aborigines killing only enough of them for their clothing and subsistence till the greed of traffic threatened their complete extirpation. Fish and wild fowl abounded in the wilderness. The treeless plain regions were coursed at intervals by bottom lands and streams whose banks were well wooded, and the primeval forests kept their awful solitudes. The aborigines, adapting themselves to circumstances, found the supply of all their wants in simply skimming the surface of their domains.

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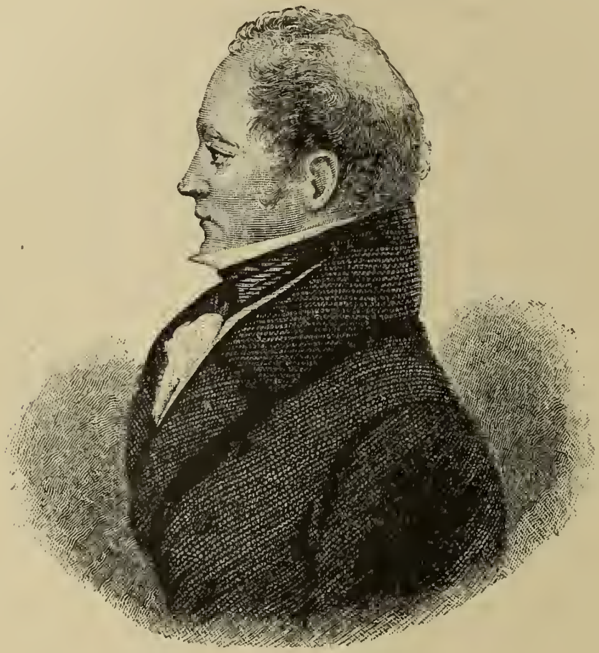
[1] From Lake Superior to the height of land separating the waters which flow into it from those which flow into Hudson's Bay, the rise is 830 feet. The descent to Lake Winnipeg is 853 feet. The further descent from the lake to York Fort on the bay is 830 feet.

Such was the region, in its furnishings and surroundings, which was put to the service of the chartered Hudson's Bay Company, to be used for much or little, as power and will, opportunity and circumstances, might decide. The legality, wisdom, and rectitude of the company as a business corporation were questioned through its whole extended existence. It would perhaps be difficult to pronounce on the question whether or not it fairly and effectively filled its place of enterprise and influence in the series of efforts and struggles which have opened and enriched the new world. Within its own aims and methods the company certainly must be said to have marvellously prospered. Starting with a capital of £10,500, it has been carefully estimated that it has carried from this country furs which have sold for one hundred and twenty million dollars. But of this more by and by.

Immediately on the receipt of the charter the company began its mercantile operations with energy and zeal. Though setting aside for the present the question of the validity of its charter, reasonable strictures have found forcible expression as to the harm which it suffered from its own narrow and selfish policy. Reference has already been made to the fact that the French traders from Canada, entering the country of furs at another point than the Bay, had begun to find vast profit over the whole northwest territory. The company always aimed to have it appear that the straits and Bay offered the best practicable entrance to the fur region, and discouraged the route through Lake Superior. So the company planted its earliest posts on the margins of the icy coast, at the mouths of the principal rivers. The situation from the first precluded all labors and much profits by tillage of the soil, though in peculiarly favorable seasons a few vegetables were cultivated. With seven or eight months of freezing weather, which bound the earth in frost very deep below the surface, the extreme heat of the brief summer availed only to relax the surface, and this became soft, wet, and marshy. Below three feet of thaw there were fifteen feet of frost. The thermometer in the course of the year had a free range of a hundred and fifty degrees, rising a hundred degrees above and sinking fifty degrees below the freezing point. Even had France been willing to admit the right of the English monarch to confer the chartered territory on his subjects, the relations existing between the two powers would not have allowed a transit to the company through Canada. We shall find that all the subsequent rivalries and contests between the opposing fur companies were prompted and embittered by the conditions under which the Bay Company began its operations and continued them for more than half a century, without penetrating any distance into the country by lakes and rivers. The French penetrated the interior to open trade with the savages ; the English waited to have the peltries brought to them at their outer posts.

In the first year of the charter the company sent Charles Bayly, as its first resident agent, to set up a factory at Rupert's River. The French had already wintered in the Bay, and the first of the series of collisions, soon to be referred to, occurred. In 1685 there were five posts of the company. The next year De Troyes went by land from Canada and destroyed three of them, and so the posts changed hands till the Treaty of Utrecht. A single English ship annually sufficed for a time to conduct the business. There were never more than two in a year besides a small sloop retained in the Bay. The mariners soon, so to speak, learned to know their way to the inhospitable port, and no other vessels than those belonging to the company were allowed access. The intention was that the ships should arrive within the straits between the 10th and 15th of August, and, after changing cargo, should go out between September 15th and 20th. But the tight or the floating masses of ice did not dispose their movements by the almanac, and patience and seamanship were put to sore trials. Captain Herd, in his testimony before a parliamentary committee in 1857, said that in passing through the straits he had experienced all the difference, in his successive voyages, between four days and five weeks. Of the distance between London and the Bay, which he estimated to be about 3,500 miles, the way through ice was from 800 to 1,000 miles, requiring an average of three weeks to penetrate it. This sturdy seaman seems to have confined himself strictly to the deck of his vessel when in the Bay. He had no curiosity about the country or its people, and could give no information. He said he "was always very glad to get there, and very glad to leave it again." The two annual vessels endeavored to keep together on the outward passage, parting after entering the Bay, the one for York Factory, the other for Moose Factory on James' Bay, — and also to come out of the straits in company.

The organization of the company in London provided for the administration of all its local business affairs within its chartered territory. Of course it had supreme authority, and all that it delegated under it was subject in its exercise to the revision and approval of the company. The charter, as we have seen, constituted a very small body of directors, and made a very small number of these a quorum for the transaction of business. As it was soon found that much reticence about its affairs was considered necessary to guard its secrets and to secure its interests as a monopoly, it became a corporation of the closest sort. It would seem that under the sharpest parliamentary inquisition certain secrets of the company could not be drawn out. It presented only such extracts from its papers and books as it saw fit to make public. And of course its most trusted officials in the Bay were expected to be confidential and loyal in its service. For some years the company sent a superintendent to each of its posts. The method and details of local administration were developed and adjusted by circumstances and the expansion of the business of the company, and appear soon to have resulted in an admirably managed system. A local resident governor was appointed to supervise all the business arrangements in the Bay, and to dispose all offices and trusts, under the approval of the company. It soon naturally became customary to set in this high responsibility, according to the rule for the promotion of its servants, one who had risen from the ranks, and had shown capacity and fidelity. This local governor was to preside at a council which was to be held annually, and oftener if there were occasion, for the purpose of directing all the arrangements of the business down to the most minute details regarding the assignment of posts to all subordinates and servants, the planning of expeditions, the disposal of goods, and every outlay. The territory was a vast one for any



G Simpson

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON.*

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* After a cut in Bryce's *Manitoba*, p. 291.

systematic oversight and for the distribution at long distances of those intrusted with property and business. The company came, under the stress of the assaults made upon it, to assuming and asserting, as if by authority of its charter, that it controlled all the territory whose waters *drained* into the Bay. This, however, was a constructive interpretation, not warranted by the letter of the instrument. But, as so construed, the region extended from the Bay easterly on the coast about 200 miles, on the south towards Canada 300, and on the west to the Rocky Mountains nearly 1,500 miles. And when, as we shall notice, the company, at the period of its greatest energy, had procured a government license for "exclusive trade" over what was called the "Indian Territory," namely, the whole northwest of America, whose waters drained into the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific, the administration of affairs became a task for the highest executive ability. Deferring for the present a statement of the circumstances under which he came into the office, it may be noted here that in 1821 Sir George Simpson was the first person chosen to the great trust of representing the company in America, in its whole domain and in all its business. He, as "Governor of Rupert's Land," thus absorbed all the offices and responsibilities which had heretofore been distributed among petty heads at the various posts. After holding the office for nearly forty years, covering some of the most agitating controversies of the company, his failing health required him to leave the country. He died in England in 1860, while still in office.

The council over which the general local governor presided was composed of the highest in rank of the resident business officials of the company, called the "chief factors." If there were not enough of these present for full discussion and disposal of affairs, some of the "chief traders," the second grade of officials, might take part in the council. It would seem, however, that the power of the governor was autocratical and supreme, for his final judgment or decision could not be overruled. When questioned on this point before a parliamentary committee, in 1857, Governor Simpson said that there had never been an occasion in which a direct issue had been raised between him and the council. When fully organized, the resident corps of the company was: 16 chief factors; 29 chief traders; 5 surgeons; 87 apprentice clerks; 67 masters at posts; 1,200 permanent servants, Indians and others, and about 500 voyageurs; 150 officers and crews of vessels: thus employing about 3,000 men. The Indian population of Rupert's Land, over whom the company was supposed to exercise some influence, was estimated in 1857 at 43,000; in the Indian Territory, east of the mountains, at 13,000, and west of them, 80,000.

The council, which generally met in June, had to dispose of the affairs, the transmission of supplies, the return of furs, the oversight of the accounts, the assignment of officials, of clerks, apprentices and servants, and all the minutest details of these operations in the wilderness. Though not held to any one place of meeting, the council usually assembled at Norway House, at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg. This station became the

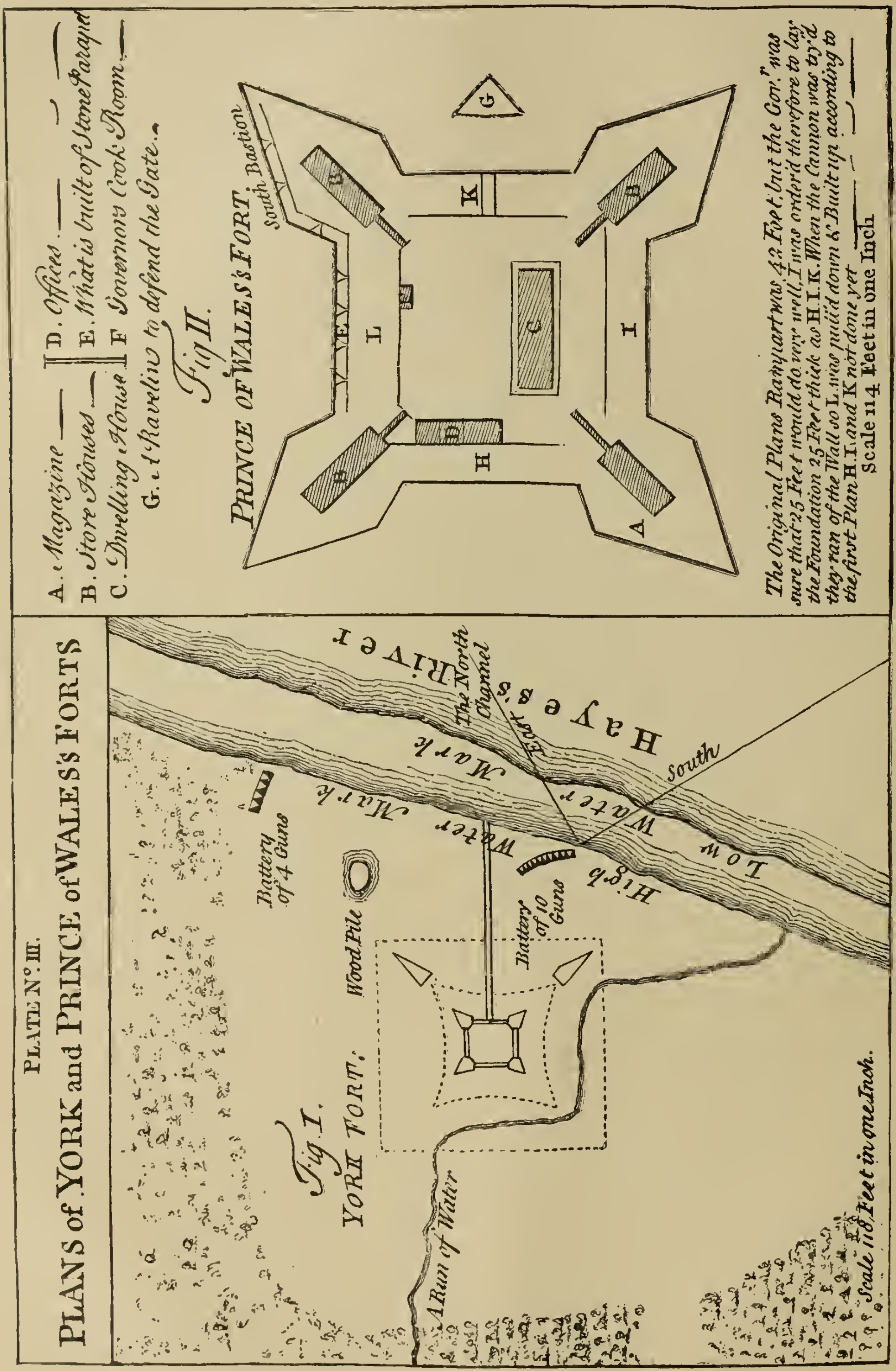
PLATE Nº III.
PLANS of YORK and PRINCE of WALES'S FORTS
Fig. I.
YORK FORT.
Wood Pile
Battery of 4 Guns
Battery of 10 Guns
A Run of Water
Hayes's River
The North Channel
East
South
Marsh
Marsh
Low Water
High Water
Scale 118 Feet in one Inch.
A. Magazine
B. Store Houses
C. Dwelling House
D. Offices
E. What is built of Stone Parapet
F. Governors Cook Room
G. A Ravelin to defend the Gate.
Fig. II.
PRINCE OF WALES'S FORT.
South Bastion
A
B
B
B
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
The Original Plans Rampart was 42 Feet, but the Gov.r was sure that 25 Feet would do very well, I was order'd therefore to lay the Foundation 25 Feet thick as H.I.K. When the Cannon was try'd they ran of the Wall so L was pull'd down & Built up according to the first Plan H.I. and K not done yet
Scale 114 Feet in one Inch

[NOTE. — Fac-simile of a plate in Robson's *Hudson's Bay* (London, 1752). — ED.]

central or distributing depot for the whole country. Brigades, as the several travelling or boating companies were called, started from and returned to this centre, by the Saskatchewan to the Rocky Mountains, to Cumberland, to English River, Athabasca, Mackenzie's River, Swan River, Red River, and Rainy Lake. The posts were separated by distances of from fifty to three hundred miles, and the numbers that manned them were from thirty or forty down to only two. Two years' supplies of imported goods were kept in store at York, to guard against the failure of arrival of the annual ships. These goods were a most medley collection for the Indian trade, many of them bought cheaply as poor finery, or as out of fashion in England: guns, powder, shot and balls, fishing tackle, blankets, cloths, gaudy kerchiefs, axes, hatchets, awls, jews-harps, fiddle-strings, knives, kettles, looking and burning glasses, beads, trinkets, and whatever would seize the fancy of buck, squaw, and half-breed, besides articles needed by the resident Europeans.

Every parcel of imported foreign goods and every bundle of furs for exportation was done up in a package not to exceed one hundred pounds. These would be carefully disposed in the canoe or boat, and a strong man would carry two of them over the portage, held by a strap passing either over his forehead or across his chest. The tedium of the way would be relieved by rough jest and song. In crossing a lake in boats or the larger canoes, the wind favoring, a sail would be put to service, and give a grateful change to the voyageurs, who, however, if necessary, could ply their paddles through the whole way, with the allowed intermission for a smoke. The camp at night gave them their substantial meal. Starting before daylight, they generally travelled for two hours, and then rested for breakfast, not having any midday repast. When the ways were frozen and covered with snow, a simple sled, without runners, was substituted. This was drawn, according to its burden, by a train of from two to eight dogs, belled, beaded, and ribboned after a gay fashion, in single file, kept to their task by the whip and imprecations of the driver. When the snow was heavy, soft, and drifted, progress was toilsome; but when its surface was glazed by ice the motion was easy and rapid. One who had become an adept in travelling with the rachette, or snow-shoe, did not suffer as did a novice in its use from the galling of its bands for toes and ankle. The dogs sometimes had to have their feet protected by leather boots from excoriation by rough, broken ice. Thirty miles was considered a good day's travel, under ordinary circumstances, but fifty or sixty miles were often accomplished. The instinct of a native or a half-breed might always be trusted to steer a straight course on the water, or to follow the right line on foot; but the risk for an unskilled European always was that, if left to himself, or lost on the plain or in the forest, he would travel in a circle, and come out where he started on his round. Certain way-marks and guides were well known by those who had once passed by the blindest way. If the canoe sprung a leak or was pierced by a rock, it was but a simple process to draw ashore and gather some bark and resinous material for repairs.

The posts of the company, being planted at the confluence or the parting of streams, offered opportunities in long routes of travel for occasional intercourse and hospitality. In camping at night, whether on the soft earth, on a hard rock, or amid the deep snow, habit fixed the routine of every makeshift and of every preparation for comfort of which the circumstances admitted, though these wilderness travellers soon came to keep their views of comfort within very restricted limits. Proximity to running water, and to dried fallen wood or drift-wood, was desirable, because the fire prepared for the night was heaped in size and quantity as if a view was had to warming all out-doors. Where bushes could be found, they were planted like a fence or shield round a circle, leaving an open space for the fire. Sometimes this fence was necessarily made of the snow scooped up by the snow-shoes from the spot which was to form the couches. Pine boughs, when they could be had, served for bedding. The kettle was put upon the fire, and its miscellaneous contents distributed in tin cups or platters. Often a travelling party might rely wholly or largely upon the game — animal, bird, or fish — to be found on the route. The staple food at the posts and in travel was the pemmican, of which the company gathered in its storehouses thousands of bags. Most usually prepared from the buffalo, pemmican might be made also of moose meat, deer, or mountain sheep. The two yearly hunts of the natives were busily turned to the account of the manufacture of pemmican. When hundreds or even thousands of the animals had been dropped on the plains, the buck-hunter had done his work. The squaws came to do their share. The carcasses were skinned, that the hides might pass through the processes of drying, tanning, and softening for very many uses. The meat was torn into strips, dried by the sun or a fire, pounded into crumbs, and then packed in a close bag made of the hide. A quantity of hot fat, in proportion of about four to five of the lean, was turned into the bag, stirred into a mixture, and then carefully closed from the air. Sometimes berries or condiments, if to be had, were combined with the compound. This food was the main-stay, and was transported at wide distances for men and dogs. It was very satisfying, and hunger qualified its repulsiveness till its taste and even relish was acquired.[1] One buffalo carcass would make at least a hundred-pound bag of pemmican. As prepared by the uncleanly squaws, the hair of the animal mingled in the compound, and was a needless addition to the revulsion of a fastidious appetite.

One of the most natural and yet most difficult and unavailing of the efforts of the whites in their intercourse with the natives was to overcome their habits of wanton wastefulness and utter improvidence. Their life was spent between alternations of gluttonous gorgings of food, when it was abundant, and protracted sufferings by various stages and the full reality of starvation. The natives held firmly to a belief that the more game they slaughtered the more rapidly would the animals multiply ; so in a rich hunt they would leave the plains strewn with carcasses far exceeding their needs or means of transportation, thus providing a harvest for packs of wolves, which were always well repaid as gleaners. True, the wandering habits of the natives did not favor household economies, and the utmost of their providence was shown either in packing surplus provisions upon stagings, or depositing them in *caches* under rocks and logs ; in either case exercising all their wits to circumvent the arts of wolves, or that most cunning of prowlers, the wolverine, or glutton. The stoicism of the Indian was exhibited in his uncomplaining endurance of hunger in the frequent failure not only of what we call food, but in the lack of those pitiful substitutes for it, the boiling of his own robes or moccasins, or the sered and glutinous moss stripped from the rocks. The narrations of the servants of the Bay Company report many instances of the last dread emergencies in which, by the casting of the lot or a desperate and treacherous stratagem, one or more survivors, the husband or the father, relieved his own pangs by cannibalism. In the vocabulary of the natives there was a word — a dreaded one for such as rightfully bore it — designating one who had eaten of human flesh. There were cases in which white men at lonely posts, or in the desolation of winter travel on plain or in forest, came to the direst extremities. The food of which mariners grow most weary on long voyages was often most grateful to men in the wilderness. Happy were they who could add a relish to their dry repasts of game or fish from the stores of the pork-barrels in the warehouses of the Bay.

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[1] The article which, under the name "pemmican," is prepared in England for arctic expeditions is a richer and more palatable condiment, being compounded of the best of beef with fruits and sugar.

The rations of food dealt out to the voyageurs and to those at the posts varied according to the nature of the supplies. On the shores of the Bay a wild goose was a day's ration, — so were ten pounds of buffalo meat ; at Athabasca, eight pounds of moose meat ; on English River, three large white-fish ; higher to the north, reindeer ; west of the Rocky Mountains, eight rabbits or a salmon. One of the most niggard regions for food was on the route between Lake Superior and Winnipeg. There fish were scarce, and though rabbits were sometimes innumerable, they were most innutritive. The most faithful companions of these wilderness travellers, their own horses and dogs, were necessarily put to the uses of the kettle when there was no alternative resource. No article figures on the invoices of the Hudson's Bay vessels in greater proportionate quantities to other stores than Schouschong tea. The Indians became passionately fond of this gentle stimulant, and shared with the whites the freest use of the beverage so long as any of it was left in the outfit. After passing a threatened peril, or accomplishing some extreme effort of daring or endurance, a full solace was always found in starting a blaze, putting on the kettle, and drinking the effusion almost at the boiling point. The extended hand of some red stroller, met on the way, would accompany the begging words, "The," "Suga." The company imported vast quantities of tobacco in plug and twists. It was available alike for barter and for presents. The natives used some indigenous herbs, roots, and barks to supplement a limited portion of tobacco, or as an unwelcome substitute for it. There were large reaches of travel over the plains, and woodless regions which yielded no fuel. Generally its place could be supplied by "buffalo chips," which were abundantly scattered, and which gave forth, in burning, a not unpleasant aroma.

In many pages of many volumes, written by servants of the company, we have full details of the experience of the "winterers" in solitary posts. To one who had had no training by degrees of adventure or responsibilities that dismal isolation must have had some appalling features, with scarce any relieving or compensating resources. Yet we find that all the exactions of the situation were met patiently and faithfully by vigorous young men; that habit made them at first so tolerable, and then even so attractive, that, as men grew old in the service, they found their solace in such seclusion, with the occasional interruptions which came upon it in the course of a year. Once, at least, in each year a mail was sent by the company to all its posts. In a through line of far travel, canoe men or dog teams would be the carriers, and on side branches a voyageur or a native runner would be the welcome messenger. The company's office in London was the receiving depot of all letters, papers, or parcels passing between its servants and their friends at home. Much systematic method was used in this service. The clerks and apprentices took care to be well supplied at their posts with materials for correspondence. Some of them, blessed with several correspondents, from each of whom they expected annual letters, naively tell us that, having no news and very little of incident, though with abundance of sentiment for filling a letter, their habit was to take pains in writing a very good one, and then to make as many copies of it as were needful. The few books which could be carried to the outposts were interchanged. A file of the "London Times," a year old when it fell into the possession of a lucky exile, would serve day by day, in course, for a whole year's perusal.

In the chief or central posts of the company, where much routine work was to be done in accounts, or in the unpacking, repacking, and distribution of goods, there were men enough for companionship. Here a so-called "Bachelor's Hall" was turned to good service for preparing and partaking food, and for after-festivities and jollities where such were possible; and they rarely failed. The fiddle and the jews-harp, the dance, with various games, the welcoming of a wayfarer with news from the outside world, or a change in the corps of the clerks, as announced by the mandatory advices of the council, came in to break a dull monotony. When the cold was so intense that a nose would freeze if an eye on either side of it looked out-of-doors, and when the inner walls of the "Hall" were glazed by the congelations from steam and breath, an iron stove, heated red by logs of four-feet wood, made a cheering centre, enhanced by the sound of forest trees exploding like artillery from the nip of winter. When the weather permitted, a party would go forth of the palisading to bore holes through lake or river ice, five or six feet in thickness, in order to make a grateful alteration from the frozen fish stored in their pantries, by spearing or hooking some of their living brethren. The opening spring brought with it fine sport among varieties of wild fowl. The swamps and thickets sent forth in clouds a venomous breed of mosquitoes, which inflicted fierce tortures upon humanity, and not infrequently stung to death the largest animals, wild and domestic.

The busy and the gala times would come together at the larger gathering and distributing posts, on the arrival or departure of brigades of voyageurs, or of bands of the natives, with the spoils of the hunt or chase. These exciting scenes occurred at least twice in each year. The summer was the season for hunting the buffalo on the plains by large companies of natives and half-breeds ; the winter saw the trappers for precious furs scattered in solitary lodges at wide distances in the forest and by the beaver marshes. Some two or three forerunners, just while they were waited for, would present themselves with heraldic formalities at the post, announcing the coming of a well-laden party, and discharging some diplomatic duties by obtaining information as to the prospects of a good trade.

In nearly every volume written by resident servants of the company, the free use of ardent spirits, with scenes of wild riot, debauchery, and even bloodshed, make often a hideous episode in the description of what took place on these occasions. Here, then, may be a fitting place for trying to define, if possible, the policy and responsibility of the Bay Company as to the introduction and distribution of intoxicating liquors in their territories. Of course, the opponents and rivals of the company brought against them the most unsparing charges and invectives for their culpability and inhumanity in this matter. And whenever the affairs of the company were brought under official investigation the inquisition was very sharp and searching, if possible to reveal the real facts in the case. But any one who patiently and candidly follows out those inquisitions, with the testimony disclosed, will at least be puzzled in attempting to draw a clear conclusion about it. At times the witnesses on the side of the company, when challenged, appeared to admit that though the company, at an early period of its operations and in ignorance, had imported and distributed large quantities of spirits, yet that at the time of the present questioning they had imposed rigid restrictions upon the export, and stated the small number of puncheons or gallons which had gone in the last vessels. Again it was pleaded that spirits were never used by them in barter for the Indians' furs, but were bestowed after the way of presents. And once more, the excuse was offered that the company, after having once prohibited and prevented the distribution of spirits, had been compelled to allow them again, at least with some parties of natives, because their rivals, French and Americans, used them unstintedly to advance their trade. But, on the whole, the facts and the testimony bear hard against the company, even from those best informed in its affairs. A poor kind of spirit was manufactured in England for the company. Before it reached the natives it was diluted from a single part in ten up to even seven parts of water, for use among different tribes according to ascertained facts as to the relative susceptibility of their brains. The Indians were quick to learn about this reduction of the stimulating quality, and the term "fire-water" indicated their test by flame.

The heralds who announced the proximity of the fur-laden natives were dismissed with a present and the much-coveted dram. And then would soon appear on the scene a motley rush and grouping of wild crowds of Indians, all panting to meet the full reality of the fruition of the prospects which had cheered them through long months of solitary tramping. When the natives moved in companies for a visit to a post with their furs, they had to bring with them their food and all their household goods, — their lodge-poles and coverings, their pans and kettles, and their whole families. The proud buck would carry no other burden than his gun. If they had dogs, these were put to the utmost service for drawing the laden sledge, if there was snow, or by an ingenious arrangement of two long poles fastened to their collars, and trailing behind them, with a pack attached. Failing help from brutes, the squaws bore all the impedimenta, and in the same pouch on their backs the pappoose would share his nestling-place with the puppy-dog, too young to travel on his legs. The picturesque or hideous spectacle — whichever epithet may meet our imagination of it — presented itself in all the bedizenment of Indian finery, with boisterous shouts, greetings, and yells. The visitors were required to keep at a respectful distance from the precincts of the post, so a considerable time was busily spent in settling an encampment after their own taste and fashion, while, during the interval, the employees of the post were carefully attending to their own securities and arrangements for meeting all the excitements and turbulences of the occasion, and for carrying out the well-prepared methods of profitable barter or traffic. Many all too faithful narrators have described to us in vivid pictures the scenes of the wild orgies and drinking bout which preceded the serious business negotiations. As much spirituous liquor as would on the one hand be thought not excessive, and on the other not meanly stinted, was sent out to the encampment. The squaws, well knowing what would follow, gathered up from the braves all their weapons and hid them away. Then for two or three days were enacted scenes of turbulence, of maudlin folly, and of demoniac passion and bestiality, which need no detail of description beyond the word pandemonium. When exhaustion and sleep had brought back shame and the reassertion of such manhood as these humbled victims of the white man's greed might retain, the actual business began. The natives were admitted singly within the guarded precincts of the trading-room. No specie or paper currency was used. The convenient medium of exchange was found in bundles of little sticks, held by the clerk. A beaver represented the unit of value, and the tariff of other skins rose or fell by a fixed estimate. The native would open his pack, and, after the careful examination of its contents by the clerks, he would receive an answering number of these sticks. When all the natives had singly passed through this process, another apartment was in the same manner made accessible to them, one by one. Here were displayed goods and wares in abundance, — supplies of all the articles attractive to native men and women, for uses of necessity or fancy. These, too, had their fixed prices by the tariff. The purchaser, dazed by the display, was allowed full time to make his selection, and, as his choice fell, the clerk took from him the answering value represented by the sticks which he had received for his peltries. A system of credit by advances to the natives was found by the officers of the company to work well in practice. By this system large numbers of the natives were kept in its debt, and the general testimony is that the creditors were faithful. On the general principle that a purchaser may fairly be left to accept the estimated worth of anything by its value to himself, under his own circumstances, there might be two sides to the question whether the white men cheated the natives. Axes, knives, hatchets, kettles, blankets, cloths, guns, and ammunition were articles of high use and value to an Indian, and after his intercourse with the Europeans they became necessities to him. Trinkets and gewgaws and fancy-colored stuffs also had to the squaws a worth compensatory to them for the drudgery of their hard life. Unfortunately, the wandering and reckless habits of these natives, who became all the more poor as their dependence upon the whites increased, made even articles of the highest value to be soon worthless in their possession, and they had no resources for their repair or preservation. Something will need to be said by and by of the profits drawn by the whites from this traffic, and we may see reason to approve the judgment that the advantage was, on the side of conscience, with the natives.

The trade being closed, the encampment was broken, and the party, laden with its return goods, took its way into the wilds. Then the clerks at the posts had their own well-defined task before them, to sort out the peltries which had been gathered in, and arrange them in packages for transfer by the ocean to the London warehouse. This was a process which required trained skill. Some of the very choicest skins needed to be treated with great care, as a trifling blemish would much reduce their value. The natives themselves, or rather the squaws, when they had the time to give to it, had a curious facility beyond even that of the whites in all the processes of scraping the flesh from the skin, softening, drying, and tanning it. These precious bales, for their ocean passage, needed to be guarded from heats and damps, and from gathering foul odors. But the requisite art seems to have been perfected.

Such, as selected and condensed from many thousands of pages, written amid the scenes above described, and by narrators whose whole range of life and activity was filled by occupations of steady labor and by incidents of romance, is a representation of service in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company.

We have now to present in historical statement and review that continuous series of agitations, controversies, and discussions, with appeals to government and hearings before parliamentary committees, extending through the whole of two centuries, which brought under question the chartered rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and its administration. We may say at the start that, in view of this protracted struggle, one who follows out its stages with a fair recognition of the various and powerful agencies engaged against the monopolists will have cause to wonder at the tenacity of life in the company, the policy and skill with which it thwarted opposition, and its ingenuity in covering its most important secrets; while, through all the period of its existence, with but few interruptions of its pecuniary thrift, it yielded such magnificent profits. The truth is, the company was shielded by powerful patronage. It had friends in high places. Its rights of possession had acquired by lapse of time those prerogatives and immunities which have for Englishmen so attractive and efficient an influence in sanctioning questionable claims, if not even abuses. It was more than once admitted, under official processes concerning the charter, that while neither crown nor Parliament would in modern times confer or concede any such rights or privileges as it bestowed, yet that this wiser lesson of experience could not be carried so far back as 1670 for its application. It was evident that a strong prestige of authority ran down with the charter attaching to it from the royal and princely titles connected with the original and gracious donation. For a long period we find the names of the successive sovereigns leading the lists of the shareholders, as substitutes for the name of Prince Rupert. Not that any one of them had ever paid the price of stock, but the object evidently was to secure a royal dignity for the corporation. The covenanted annual consideration enjoined by the charter of "two elks and two black beavers" to be returned to the sovereign may have been duly rendered. It would, however, have been generously commuted by the annual douceurs of much higher value which were sure to reach the court. Doubtless many a rich marten or sable, the most precious of all the spoils of the wilderness, passed from the little creatures which had worn the skin to the shoulders of royalty. Tentative steps of inquisition as to the owners and value of the company's stock, at any given time, were baffled by pleas of unsettled accounts of profit and debt, and the assertion that some of the shares had passed by inheritance to women and children, thus involving processes of chancery.

There was much significance in the fact already stated, that so early as only twenty years after the sealing of the charter the company, under the prompting of some misgivings as to its validity, as it had only the sanction of the crown, had sought and obtained for it a parliamentary confirmation. The draft of the act of confirmation had limited the grant to ten years. The period was reduced by the committee to seven years. A perfect silence is observable as to any measures taken by the company to secure a renewal of this sanction by extension of time or by an indefinite term. We are left to imagine an explanation of this course pursued by the company. By appealing to Parliament it had confessed a consciousness of insecurity, and it must have recognized that the termination of the limited period might bring with it some form of a crisis. We can well understand that the company, in its close councils, under the caution of some shrewd adviser, judged it safest not to invite upon itself any further official attention or scrutiny.

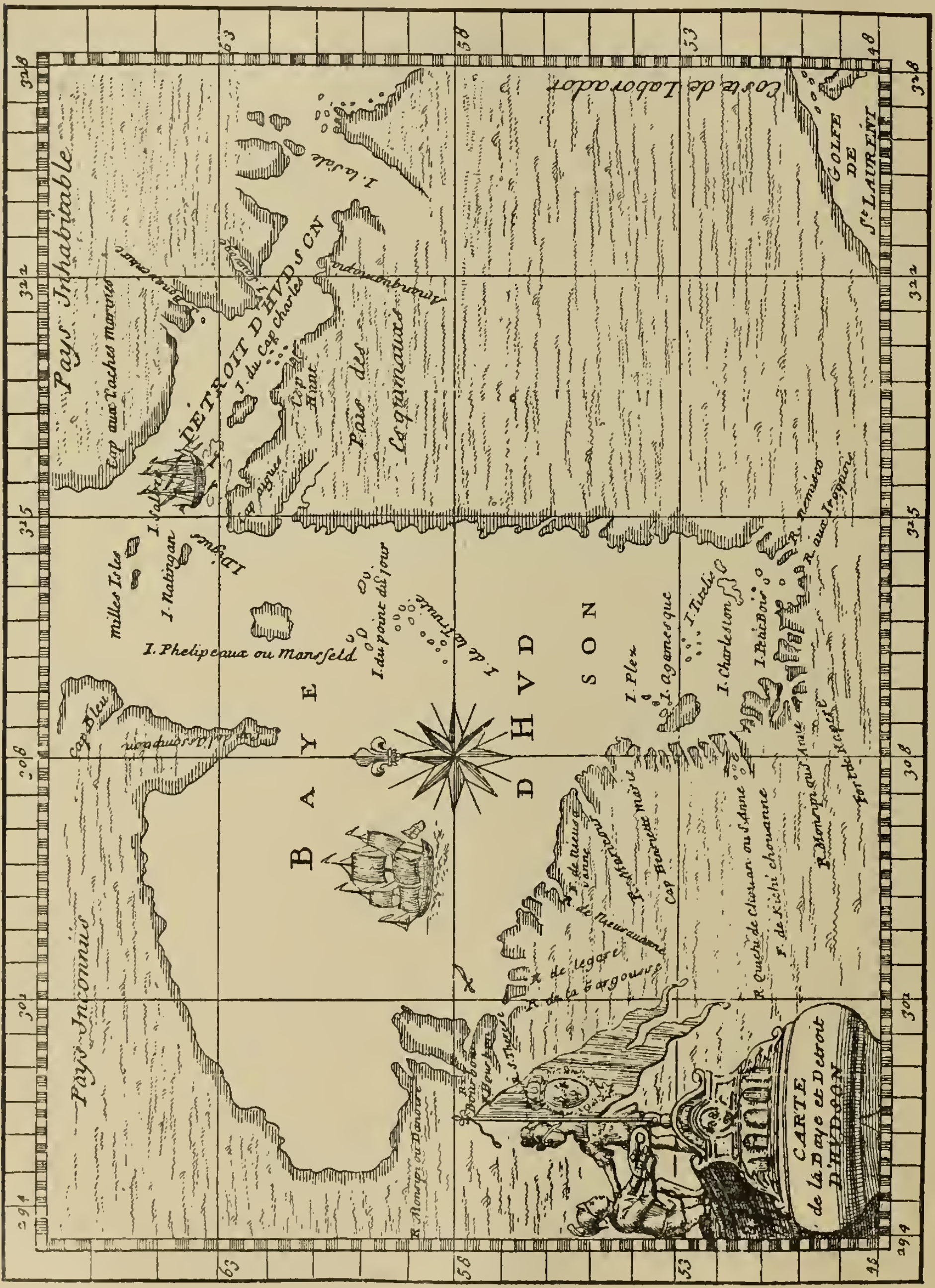
The occasions and incidents which through the whole two centuries of the chartered existence and administration of the company kept it under conflict of open and aggressive warfare, jealousy, rival opposition, business and mercantile antagonism, and official processes by government, may be disposed and treated under three divisions. It may be premised that all these matters of strife were more or less directly the mischievous results of the fact intimated in the opening of this chapter, namely, that that spasmodically generous monarch, Charles II, who made many other similar gifts, in the charter which he granted to Prince Rupert and his associates bestowed lavishly what did not belong to him.

1. The first and the most serious collisions of the company, involving measures of warfare, havoc, and large pecuniary losses, were encountered in consequence of its trespass upon rights claimed by France and French subjects under recognized principles of public law.

2. A second class of vexatious and forcible annoyances and controversies met by the company, sprang from the sturdy and uncompromising opposition of other British subjects to its illegal and grasping monopoly, its utter neglect of the primary object of exploration recognized in its charter, and its policy of intrigue and jealousy.

3. The last series of controversies, which in their resolute and effective agitations brought about a surrender of the charter, were incident to an attempt to plant a resident colony on a portion of its territory.

In dealing with the first of these classifications, we remind ourselves that Charles II restricted the terms of the gift in his charter of "Rupert's Land" to such territory as should not be held by any other Christian prince or his subjects. By the complacent usage of titles at the time, Louis XIII of France was a "Christian prince," and he had precisely the same claim and rights of possession to the territory of Hudson's Bay as the English monarchs had to regions farther south on the Atlantic coast, — the rights obtained by sighting the coast and entrance upon the shores. The king of France had by a charter in 1626, forty-four years previous to that of Rupert's Land, conveyed to the Company of New France the region now known as Canada, and the whole region of Hudson's Bay, which had been entered by French navigators. The first European that ever coursed the continent to the Rocky Mountains was a Frenchman, M. Varennes de la



HUDSON'S BAY, 1722.*

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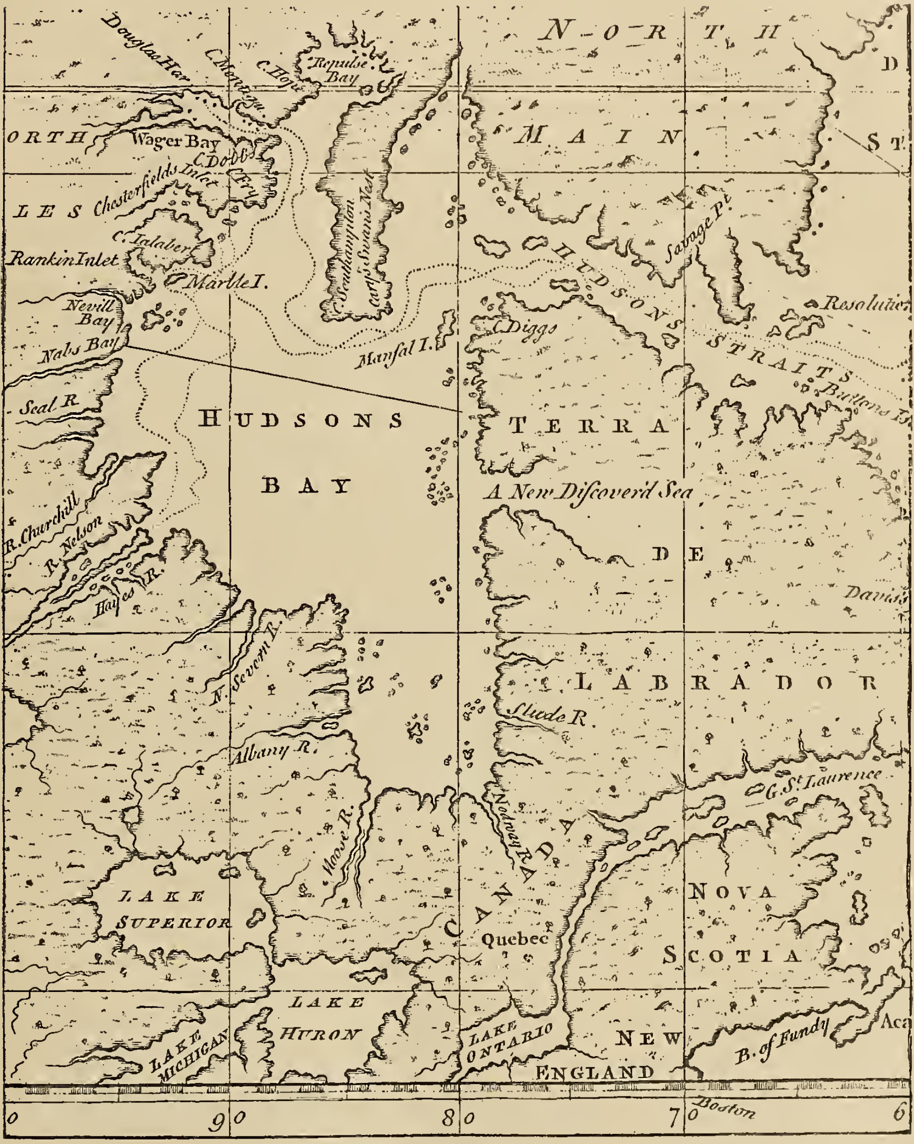
* [From *Bacqueville de la Potherie.* Bellin's map of 1744 is in Charlevoix. Other maps are in Prevost's *Voyages*, xiv. and xv.; and in the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, vols. xiv. (1756), xvi. (1756), and xvii. (1759). — ED.]

Verenderye,[1] in 1731. The country was also confirmed to France by the treaty at St. Germain's-en-Laye, thirty-eight years before Prince Rupert's charter. From the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 to the Peace of Paris in 1763, there had been no distinct boundary drawn between territory claimed by the French in Canada and territory claimed by England in the Bay. But



ELLIS'S MAP, 1748.*

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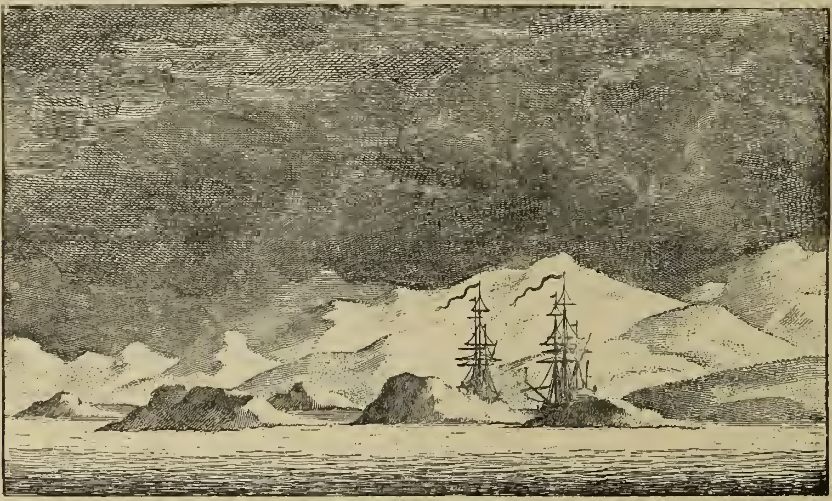
[1] [See Vol. IV. — ED.]

* [A section of the *New chart of the parts where a northwest passage was sought in the years 1746 and 1747, exhibiting the track of the ships throughout that expedition*, which appeared in Henry Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1748). — ED.]

in maps of the time authorized by both parties, the Red and the Saskatchewan rivers were alike recognized as belonging to France, though both rivers drained into the Bay. In the cession of Canada by France in 1763, there was no western boundary assigned to Canada, but the French had claimed to the Pacific. By the eighth article of the Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, the whole of Hudson's Bay was recognized as belonging to the crown of France, no allusion being made to the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company. By the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, a portion of the shores of the Bay was ceded to England, which only then for the first time could claim undisputed possession. The treaty also protected the rights of the Company of New France. As the English crown did not acquire any of the territory till long after the death of Charles II, of course a charter from him was null. Not only is there abundant documentary and official evidence of the prior and the never abandoned possession of the territory by France, but French subjects invariably took for granted their rights of exploration, hunting, and occupancy over the whole region. The grant of any exclusive privilege in the western territory by the crown of England was a breach of the articles of capitulation with France in 1763. The valleys of the Saskatchewan and the Assiniboin were not entered by the Bay Company till long after the cession of Canada. The French traders had a hundred years the start in many of the company's interior posts. Nor did the French, after they had come to the knowledge of the presence of Englishmen in the Bay, under pretended charter rights, confine themselves to peaceful protests against the intrusion. While the company had as yet planted its posts only on the shores of James' Bay and at the mouth of Churchill and Hayes rivers, the French, by assaults in 1682 and 1686, and again under M. Jeremie, destroyed all the posts except Albany on the former bay, and held posses-



DOUGLAS HARBOR.*

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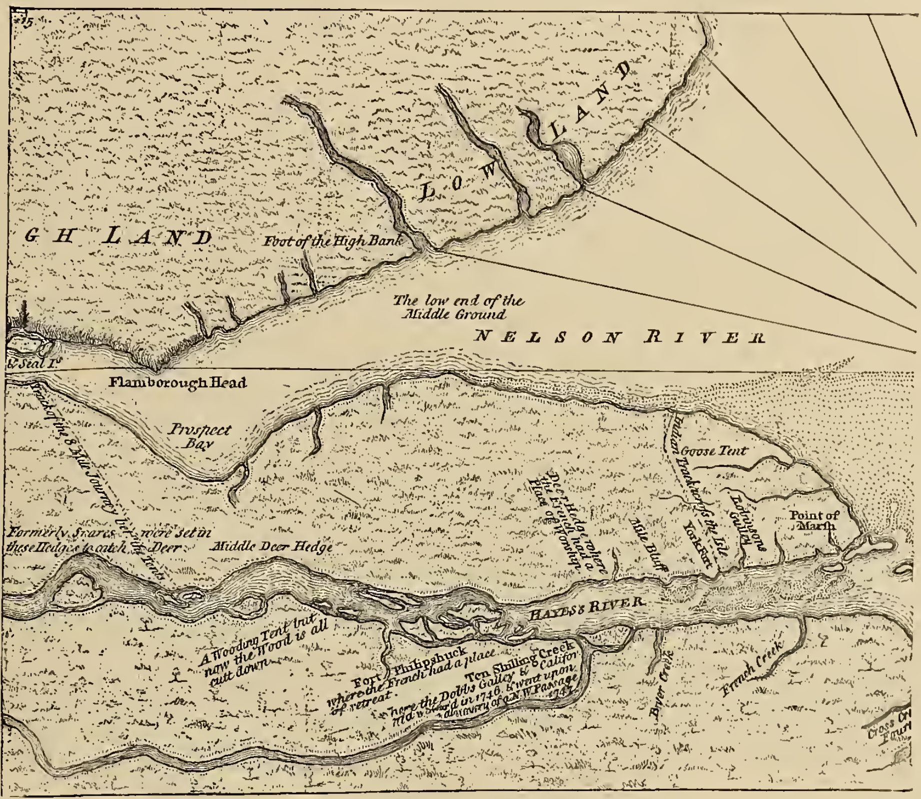
* [Fac-simile from a plate in Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1748). — Ed.]

sion of York Fort, which they called Fort Bourbon, from 1697 to 1714.[1] In a petition of the company to Charles II in 1682, protection had been asked against a threat of the governor of Canada, De la Barre, of an assault upon its posts. In petitions by the company to the Lords Commissioners of Trade in 1697 and 1698, it asks that the French may not be allowed to travel or trade "beyond the midway betwixt Canada and Albany Fort, which we reckon to be within the bounds of our charter." The French ambassador, in answer to a memorial in 1699, asserted the claims of his sovereign to the whole bay on the north, which he insisted was comprehended within the limits of the grants to his subjects. In the previous expeditions of the French, with Indian allies, against the early bay posts, the assailants had crossed the height of land between Canada and James' Bay. The expedition of Admiral la Perouse against the two principal forts of the company in 1782, was a bold and effective blow, which there seems to have been not even an attempt to parry or to avenge. It was a year in which



L O W L A N D
G H L A N D
Foot of the High Bank
The low end of the Middle Ground
N E L S O N R I V E R
& Seal Iˢ
Flamborough Head
Prospect Bay
Track of the 8 Mile Journey between the Tents
Formerly Snares were set in these Hedges to catch Deer
Middle Deer Hedge
A Wooding Tent but now the Wood is all cutt down
Fort Philipshuck where the French had a place of retreat
Ten Shilling Creek
here the Dobbs Galley & Califor… lay in 1746 & went upon discovery of a N.W. Passage 1747
HAYES'S RIVER
Deer Hedge where the French had a Place of Worship
Mile Bluff
Indian Track to the Isle
York Fort
Goose Tent
Robinson's Gulley
Point of Marsh
Beaver Creek
French Creek
Cross Cr… Four…

NELSON AND HAYES RIVERS.*

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[1] Papers relating to the claims of France, in *British Documents, Reports of Committees*, vol. xv. pp. 374 *et seq.*

* [Fac-simile of a part of the map in Joseph Robson's *Hudson's Bay* (London, 1752). — Ed.]

the smallpox was making most devastating havoc among the Indians of the interior. Perouse appeared off York Fort with a fleet of three ships on the 8th of August. The fort was a strong one, of stone, and had been forty years in building, at very heavy expense, having been planned and superintended by Robson, in 1742.[1] It had forty cannon, and abundant ammunition and provision. But it was held by only thirty-nine men, when its complement would have been four hundred. Not the slightest resistance was offered to the fleet. The officer at the post at once surrendered. The commander pulled down the British flag and held out one of his own tablecloths. The fort was sacked, plundered, and devastated, a vast quantity of valuable peltry being carried off by the fleet. On the 21st of August the same unresisted capture was made of Churchill Fort. This had sixty men and twelve Indians, thirteen cannon, twelve swivel-guns, all sorts of small arms, abundant provisions, and a fresh-water rivulet running through it. The commander went out with a white flag, and the French officer waved his handkerchief. The fort was plundered and burned, the inmates surrendering as prisoners. It had been held by the English unmolested since the peace of Utrecht. This, however, was the last time that a French flag waved from an English fort at the north.

PRINCE OF WALES FORT, HUDSON'S BAY.*

Such, without mention of many other acts of hostility, was the assured and defiant spirit of the subjects of one "Christian prince," as shown in repeated bold and successful acts of opposition to what were regarded as trespasses of Englishmen on territory which was not admitted to be the property of the monarch who had generously made a gift of it. The martial method of dealing with the matter was as fully conformed to the "law of nations" as were the charter ways of disposing of other people's property.

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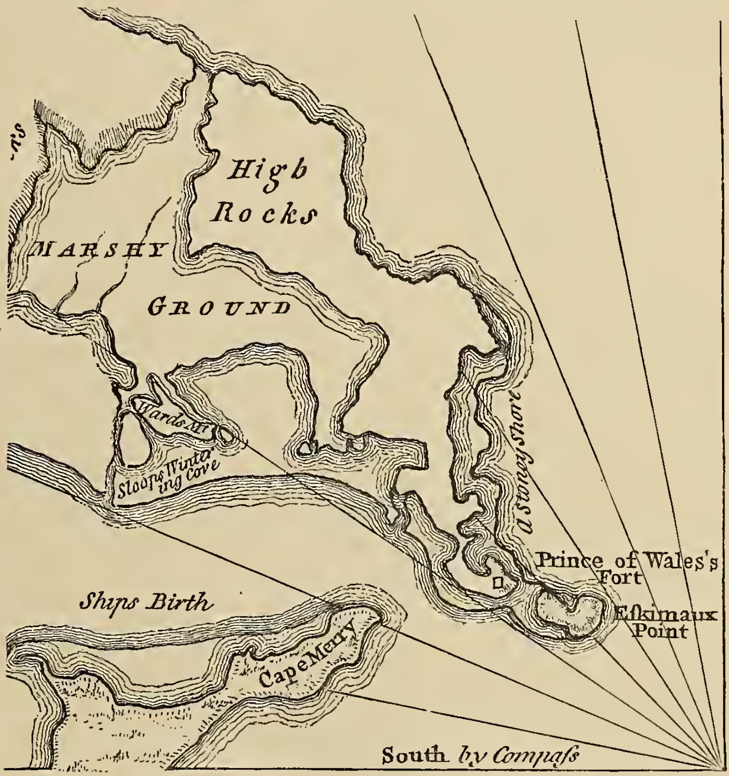
[1] See Critical Essay.

* [This view of the company's chief factory follows a print in the *European Mag.*, vol. xxxi. (June, 1797). It stood on Churchill River, near its mouth. — Ed.]

One very great, perhaps we might on the whole call it an almost compensating, advantage accrued in the long run to the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company after the close of its warlike collisions with the French. It was under the methods and training pursued by the French fur hunters and traders that there was provided for their English successors a breed of men most essential to the skilful and profitable conduct of the fur trade, whose characteristic aptitudes for the service will be again referred to. From the first coming of different European nationalities to this continent, and all along through their presence and their rivalries here, it was very evident that the qualities of Frenchmen secured to them in various ways the attachment, alliance, and intimate confidence of the Indians, while the relations of the English with the natives were always cold and distant, seldom friendly, never cordial. The voyageurs and bushrangers, whose services were indis-



PRINCE OF WALES FORT AND VICINITY.*

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* [Fac-simile of a part of *A draught of Churchill River*, in Robson's *Hudson's Bay* (London, 1752). — ED.]

pensable for such enterprises as the Bay Company pursued, were trained entirely by the Canadians. It was only after they had become thoroughly skilled in their needful work, throwing into it all their woodcraft, their wild impulses, and their reckless enthusiasm, that they were ready to enter into the employ of the Bay Company. Its youthful servants from the Orkneys, however ardent, athletic, or courageous, would have been no substitute for French half-breeds.

The second series of agitations and conflicts which involved the Hudson's Bay Company in vexatious and intense hostilities were substantially an entail or consequence of the primary wrong, the workings of which have just been discussed. The root of the difficulty was the grant by a charter from the king of England, with rights of monopoly for possession and traffic, over a vast and vaguely defined territory, encumbered, at least, by prior claims of French monarchs and their subjects. We have seen that the French in Canada asserted their rights, assured by a half century's earlier occupancy and improvement of the territory, and never relinquished. The French consequently had always dealt with the agents of the Bay Company as trespassers and intruders, and had plundered and destroyed its posts. On the cession of Canada by France to England, in 1763, its inhabitants became British subjects. These new British subjects very naturally believed that they acceded to certain rights of the soil and of opportunities and means for obtaining a livelihood which had been enjoyed and improved by them while they were French subjects. As a matter of course, therefore, they plied with increased vigor the only lucrative trade which their wilderness surroundings opened to them. Only a slight capital was necessary to conduct it as operated by individual enterprise; but associated means and efforts largely increased its facilities, and enabled partners to operate at extended distances. As will soon appear, a very energetic company was formed in Canada for the fur traffic, which speedily was met by rivalry from a similar company, while both alike, with all individual traders, were brought into direct and bitter antagonism with the chartered monopolists. Before a summary statement is given of these rival operations and of the method by which they were compromised, reference must be made to other hostile movements against the company in resistance of its monopoly and its secret policy, which were set in action also by British subjects, but of another class, residing in England, and having in view other objects than simply that of the fur trade.

We must remind ourselves of that alluring aim and passion of all the earliest as well as of the most recent navigators to this hemisphere, and of their royal patrons, to find a water-way through this island, archipelago, or continent, whichever it might prove to be, to Cathay in India. Columbus died in the belief that he had reached the coast of Asia without passing intervening lands; but it was not long before the presence of such intervening lands was patent, and the great problem of a navigable water-way through them demanded a solution. In 1540 the king of France made a grant of Canada to Cartier as "un des bouts de l'Asie." Lachine, on the St. Lawrence, near Montreal, perpetuates by its name the fond hope of La Salle, that that place was the starting-point by the Ottawa for entering the coveted water-way to China.[1] Prince Rupert and his associates had obtained their charter as the "Governor and Company of Adventurers in England," under the plea that their object was "the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea." Many Englishmen, from motives of gain of various kinds, and from higher motives, were eager to have that discovery made, and even to venture their own property and lives in the enterprise. Joint-stock companies were formed to advance it. Parliament had offered a reward of £20,000 for the verification of the belief that such a passage was a reality. But soon the surprising and astounding fact came to the knowledge of the generous adventurers, that the privileged company, holding its royal patent, instead of seeking to advance its avowed and pledged object, neglected all effort and enterprise in that direction, and, worse than that, opposed, obstructed, and thwarted every independent movement to effect an object which in honor and obligation it should have been foremost to advance. The company was likewise pledged "to find some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities." It stayed by the furs. Hudson's Straits were believed to open to rich mineral regions, and were known to hold treasures of the sea. The whole zeal of the company, not given to its own traffic, was spent upon warning off all adventurers from risking themselves in such barren, desolate, and inhospitable regions. The meanness and rapacity of the company aroused against it an intense hostility among English mariners and merchants. This resulted in a petition to the lords in council in 1749, exposing the mischievous monopoly and policy of the company as having used its privileges to obstruct the noble objects it was intended to advance. The petitioners sought to be incorporated, with similar rights of land and water over the regions adjacent to those of the company for advancing discovery and trade. An explanation is given on a later page of the means by which this, like all the other public impeachments of the company, failed of its object.[2]

The policy of prohibiting exploration and settlement was in the case of the Hudson Bay Company pursued by a breach in their covenanted obligations and in the interest of their own monopoly. The company may be said to have been goaded and shamed into patronage of its first enterprise of exploration one hundred years after the date of its charter. Reports had been circulated by some wandering Indians from the north, near the Arctic circle, of a vast and navigable river in a region rich with furs and with minerals. The resident governor of the company was moved to address the managers in England with the proposal of an expedition for discovery, and Samuel Hearne, an officer of the company, was sent forth under its auspices. He left Churchill, the most northern post, in November, 1769. Midway on his errand he returned twice, being deserted by some of his Indians, and some of his instruments having become unserviceable. Starting a third time, in December, 1770, he traced the Coppermine River to its mouth, and was the first of Europeans to look into the Arctic circle. His own scientific skill, as well as his instruments, were insufficient for making trustworthy observations, and his enterprise was hardly satisfactory.

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[1] [The history of the search for the Straits of Anian, as this supposed passage was called, is given in Vol. II. — Ed.]

[2] See the reference in the Critical Essay to the work of Arthur Dobbs.

T. Lawrence R.A. pinxt.
P. Condé sculpt.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.*

The rival North West Company, not to be outdone in this exacting service, sent Alexander Mackenzie in 1789. He followed the river, which received his name, in an unimpeded course for eight hundred miles. He too saw the Arctic Sea, and was the first Englishman to pass the Rocky

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* [After Sir Thomas Lawrence's picture as engraved by P. Condé in Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific oceans, 1789 and 1793* (Philad., 1802). There is another portrait and a map of his route in the *Allg. Geog. Ephemeriden* (1802), vol. ix. — ED.]

Mountains, being followed by Findlay, Fraser, and Thompson. The third expedition, the first that was undertaken by the British government, was that of Sir John Franklin in 1820. He advanced the exploration, but met with terrible disaster and suffering on his return, making a second expedition in 1825.

THOMAS SIMPSON.*

The British government commissioned Sir John Ross on an expedition in 1829, and in 1832, aided by a private subscription, it sent Captain Sir George Back to search for him. The Hudson Bay Company now again takes up the work at its own charges. It sent one of its officers, Thomas Simpson, and Peter W. Dease, in 1836; and in 1838–9 it was supposed that the longed-for water-opening had been seen. Government thought itself generous in its rewards. It conferred a baronetcy on the London governor of the company, J. H. Pelly, and knighthood on the local resident governor, George Simpson. A pension of £100 was settled upon Messrs. Dease and T. Simpson. The mysterious death of the latter, by murder or suicide,[1] when on his way through the prairies, on his return to England in 1840, closed his account. His brother, in a Life of him,[1] tells us how he sought in vain to secure the pension for needy heirs. No advantage in the special object to which the company restricted its aims accrued to it from any successes gained by itself or others in these explorations.

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[1] The biographer accepted the alternative that his brother was vengefully murdered through the cherished malice of the half-breeds who were attending him, and with a view to purloining his papers. But Mr. Alexander Ross, in his *Red River Settlement*, candidly reviewing the facts of the case, leaves it probable that Mr. Simpson fell by his own hand, he having previously given signs of an unsettled mind (pp. 225–233).

* [Copied from J. Cook's engraving of S. P. Green's portrait of Simpson in Alexander Simpson's *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson* (London, 1845). — Ed.]

Returning to the subject of the collisions of the Hudson Bay Company with rivals in its special enterprise, we have to note a different method of business pursued by British fur traders from that which had been followed by the French before the cession of Canada. The French had traded under "licenses" granted by the authorities, accompanied by attempted prohibitions of the brandy traffic with the natives. But the British merchants in Canada demanded the liberty of free trade, and they exercised it. Single individuals, sometimes two or three in partnership, would furnish an outfit for employés, or go themselves on an expedition for furs. As might have been expected, sharp practices, jealousies, feuds, and sad demoralization among the Indians at once ensued. The latter were enlisted in groups or parties on the sides of the rivals, who would set themselves at watch to waylay, entrap, and barter with those who were in the service of their opponents. Many a dark and tragic scene was veiled in the depths of the wilderness, of which there are only legends, as culprits would keep their own secrets, and all legal proceedings were out of the possibility of enforcement. The effect was disastrous on the interests of traffic. The game was wasted, and in some places exhausted. Only in the winter season were the furs in good keeping, but the animals were slaughtered through the whole year, the cubs with their parents, with no respite for the breeding interval. Many merchants were brought to ruin, and if matters had continued in this course, only quarrels would have survived the occasion of them.

Under these circumstances, policy and self-interest dictated to some shrewd and sagacious men a course which, while it yielded a vast reward in profits to themselves, proved as destructive to the interests of the Hudson Bay Company. That monopoly might rest upon its charter, and make the most of it. Receiving its orders from the warehouse in Fenchurch Street, and clinging close to its dismal posts on the two inner bays, it waited for the natives to bring them the spoils of the hunt and trap. The rivals of the company had learned to adopt from it the strong power of combined capital, but for the rest knew of wiser methods of their own. They would have trained agents, partners in fact, who would go out and live in the wilderness on common terms with the natives, and do a turn of work for themselves. Some Boston and Albany traders had found the way to Montreal and Quebec free to them for business, after the cession of Canada. A strong organization was formed in 1805 of leading merchants in Canada who could furnish capital and the talent for enterprise. Under the name of the North West Company, though without incorporation, this organization soon became a mighty power, most able and efficient in its working. Its chief managers, resident in Montreal and Quebec, were men of the highest consideration and influence. They felt their dignity, and inaugurated operations which inspirited social life around them with vivacious and romantic incidents well set off by scenes and actors.

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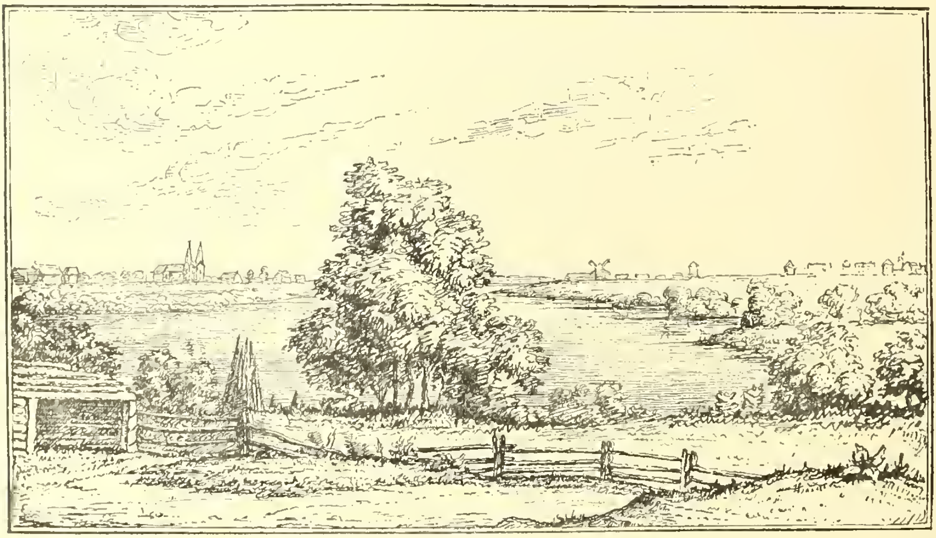
[1] See Critical Essay.

In the parliamentary committee of inquiry into the affairs of the Hudson Bay Company, in 1857, — to be subsequently referred to, — the Right Hon. Edward Ellice, who was a member of the committee, also took the stand as a witness. He testified that he first went to Canada in 1803, and that then everybody of consequence was engaged in the fur trade, which, he said, was all the trade there was. As we shall see, he was the son of a great capitalist in Canada, and became a member of the North West Company, as he was also of a company which divided off from it, and finally of the Hudson Bay Company, when all rivalries had been conciliated. This witness had a rich experience in various animosities and rivalries, and showed his acuteness in his reserve as well as in his testimony. The North West Company having a vast warehouse at Montreal from which it sent out goods by the Ottawa and the northern route, had also a great depot at Fort William, northwest of Lake Superior. It had a class of its partners "on shares," who, under the name of "winterers," went off by the streams and lakes to reside deep in the interior among the natives, to instigate business, and to gather in the results of hunting and trapping. These were adventurous men, and soon became skilled in all woodcraft. A class of youths, chiefly Scotch, robust and hardy, were articled as apprentice-clerks for seven years, receiving their subsistence and one hundred pounds. The prospective reward of their toil and fidelity was to become partners and shareholders, men of consequence among peers. So they worked with a will. There was a high zest of life for them in adventure, self-reliance, converse with novel scenes and picturesque companionship. Indian maidens cast in their lot with these "winterers" and the clerks, and the situation with its influences very naturally in most cases resulted in attaching them permanently to a mode of life ventured upon only as an incident. It was of the offspring of these and others, principally Canadians, French fathers and Indian mothers, that there came into the wilderness such a numerous progeny of half-breeds and persons of variously mixed blood, — the stock of these two classes, — the *coureurs de bois* and the *voyageurs*. For reasons which will suggest themselves, these half-breeds of French parentage far outnumbered those of English and Scotch parentage, and from their mixed inherited and transmitted qualities, their abandon, vivacity, recklessness, and ready affiliation with Indian ways, they were held to be superior for the service required. The North West Company had at one time nearly two thousand of this unique class of employés, going and coming, toiling after a rollicking fashion in its service, paddling and rowing the canoe or the boat, threading the reedy marshes, running the cascades, crossing the portage with their burdens, trailing along the cataracts, bearing all the stern severities of winter in the woods, guiding the dog-sledges, camping in snowdrifts, ready on their return for wild carousals and dances, parting with the year's gains for finery and frolic, and then getting an easy shrift from their priests. The sagacity and pluck, the wide field-roving, and the gainful enterprise of the North West Company, though it was only tolerated in its existence and operations, threatened at one time wholly to crush the comparatively stagnant operations of the chartered Bay Company. Indeed, so profitable, for one period at least, was the field of this free associated enterprise that another volunteer company, which took the name of the "X Y Company," appeared on the scene. This was not in all respects in hostile rivalry to the North West Company, as some partners belonged to both of them, though each was complemented by those who were determined to share the spoils either as individuals or in partnership.



FORT GARRY AND NEIGHBORHOOD.*

It was easy to see, however, what would very soon be the inevitable consequences of this method of action in the fierce rivalry and the exhaustive activity of vigorous parties in the fur trade, enforced by all the resources of combined capital. The buffalo, which was the main dependence for food at the posts and on the tramp, was wholly driven from vast expanses on the plains. The fur-bearing animals were threatened with extermination, and the natives were dangerously demoralized. The North West Company and the X Y Company found it wise for them to form a coalition, peaceable for themselves, but ominous for the Bay Company.

It was at an interval in this long warfare when the strife was fiercest that there came in an episode of historical interest which must briefly engage attention.

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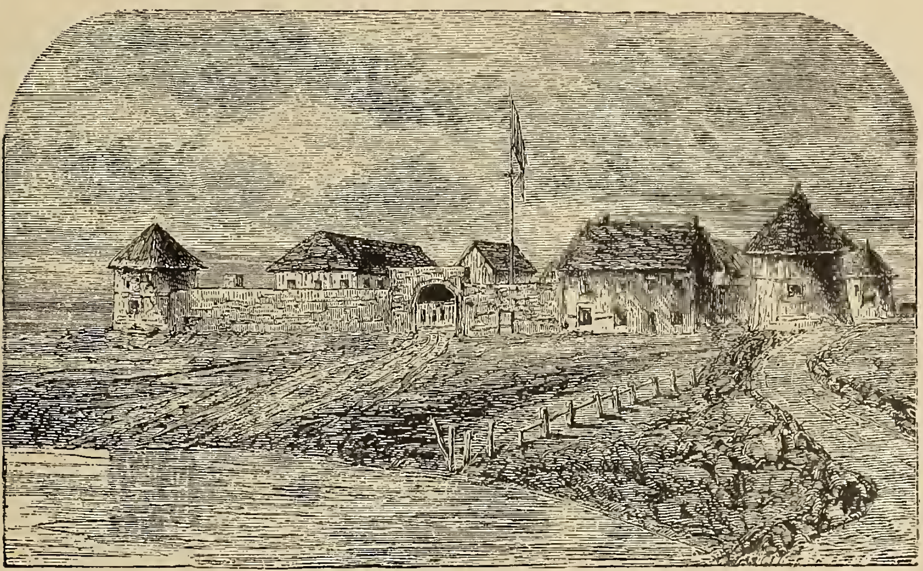
* [From a drawing in Alex. J. Russell's *Red River Country* (Montreal, 1870). The fort is at the extreme right. Cf. drawing in Chas. Marshall's *Canadian Dominion* (London, 1871). — Ed.]

Near the beginning of this century the British government had to deal with the problem of providing for large numbers of poor Highlanders, evicted from their rude cottages and lands that the lordly nobles might turn the territory into deer forests. A party of these evicted tenants from Kildonan, in Sutherlandshire, were induced by the Earl of Selkirk to seek a new home in the centre of the American wilderness, in the chartered territory of the Hudson Bay Company. By purchase or by proxy, the earl, himself a large proprietor, had obtained control of the administration of the company in London when its stock was greatly depressed, and received from it in 1811, probably with but nominal compensation, a grant of 116,000 square miles for a settlement. Its central point was at the confluence of the Red and the Assiniboin rivers. A party of the Highlanders, scantily furnished for the rough experiences before them, arrived at York Factory, on the bay, in the autumn, and there they were compelled to winter. Not till the following autumn, 1812, did they reach their destination at Fort Garry. Their route by water and portages had been through four hundred miles of river, with rocky ascents of seven hundred feet and an open lake voyage of three hundred miles. Desolate and piteous were their experiences for many years. In fact, they had actually started on their desperate effort to return to Scotland, when they were met by their patron the earl, in 1816, with a fresh body of settlers and supplies. They had been well-nigh reduced to starvation by the failure of their first crops, by devastating



FORT GARRY.*

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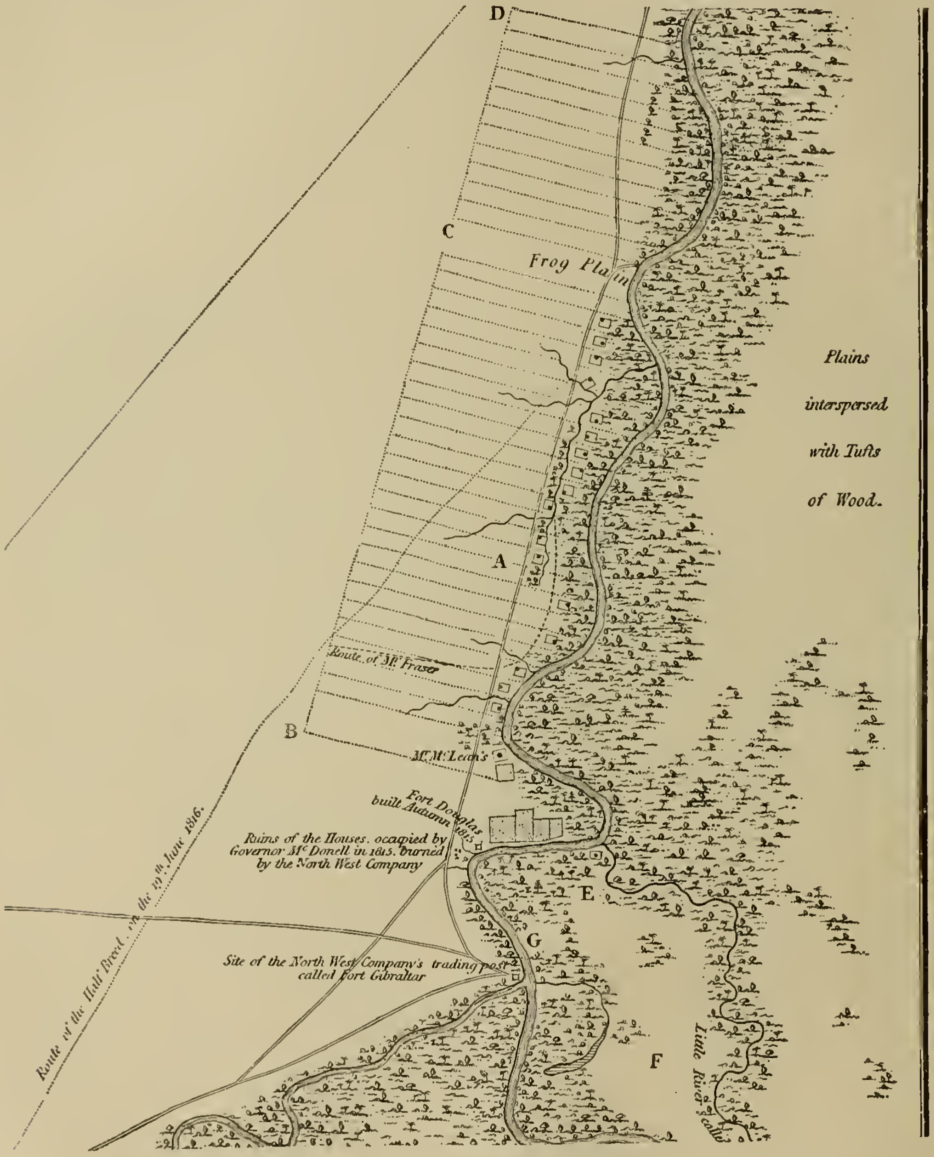
* [Reproduction of a cut in Dent's *Last Forty Years*, following a drawing by the Earl of Dufferin. There are other views in Alexander Ross's *Red River;* in S. H. Scudder's *Winnipeg Country, or Roughing it, with an eclipse Party by A. Rochester Fellow* (Boston, 1886); in Stuart Cumberland's *Queen's Highway from Ocean to Ocean* (London, 1887); in Jas. C. Hamilton's *Prairie Province* (Toronto, 1876). — Ed.]

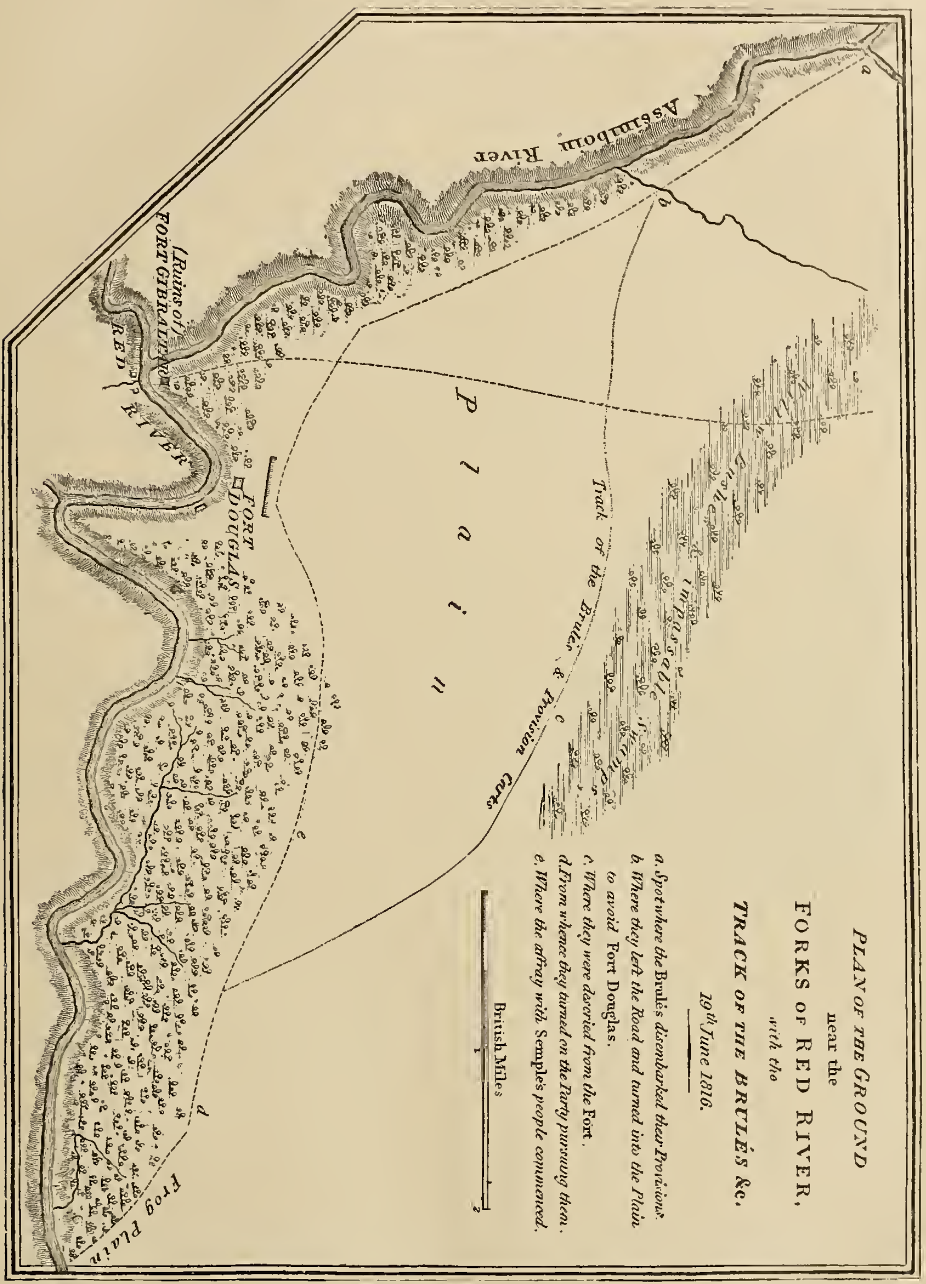
floods, and by devouring grasshoppers. It seemed as if the accumulations of misfortune had been visited more overwhelmingly and in all forms of ill upon them than upon any other severely tried company of wilderness exiles.


D
C
Frog Plain
Plains interspersed with Tufts of Wood.
A
Route of Mr. Fraser
B
Mr. McLean's
Fort Douglas built Autumn 1815
Ruins of the Houses. occupied by Governor Mc Donell in 1815. burned by the North West Company
Route of the Half Breed on the 19th June 1816.
E
G
Site of the North West Company's trading post called Fort Gibraltar
F
Little River

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT, JUNE, 1816.*

* [Extracted from the map in A. Amos's *Report of the Trials relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement* (London, 1820). — KEY: A, the place where Gov. Semple and his party were massacred, 19th June, 1816. B to C, settlers' lots, established 1814; laid waste by the North West Company, 1815 and 1816; and reëstablished 1817. C to D, lots laid waste in 1815 and not reëstablished. E to F, where the Germans and Swiss of the Regiment de Meuron settled in 1817. G, site of chapel and other buildings, built in 1818 by Catholic missionaries from Quebec. Cf. plan of the Selkirk settlement in H. Y. Hind's *Canadian Red River Exploring Exped. of 1857* (London, 1860), p. 172. — ED.]

But the worst of all their woes, one of which they had no warning, was that they found themselves on a scene which was the centre of a state of


PLAN OF THE GROUND
near the
FORKS OF RED RIVER,
with the
TRACK OF THE BRULÉS &c.
19th June 1816.
a. Spot where the Brulés disembarked their Provisions.
b. Where they left the Road and turned into the Plain to avoid Fort Douglas.
c. Where they were descried from the Fort.
d. From whence they turned on the Party pursuing them.
e. Where the affray with Semple's people commenced.
British Miles
0
1
2
Assiniboin River
(Ruins of) FORT GIBRALTAR
RED RIVER
FORT DOUGLAS
Plain
Track of the Brulés & Provision Carts
Impassable
Frog Plain
a
b
c
d
e

SEMPLE'S MASSACRE.

NOTE. — [A small map contained in the large map in Alexander M'Donell's *Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country* (London, 1819). Fort Gibraltar was a post of the North West Company; Fort Douglas belonged to Selkirk and the Hudson Bay Company. — ED.]

real warfare between the Bay and the North West companies, where their rivalry was the sharpest and the most vindictive in its hostilities. Remote as the scene was from the Bay posts, the North West Company, with its traffic to Canada by its own route of travel, had strongly possessed itself here by its own posts, as a region for most lucrative traffic. Of course, these emigrant Highlanders were regarded as intruders of the most unwelcome and offensive sort, coming to break in upon the wilderness with the stir and noise and restraints of civilization. In a pitched fight on June 19, 1816, Governor Semple, the local governor of the Bay Company, with nearly a score of his supporters, were killed by the defiant forces of the North West Company. The sanguinary strife continued with increasing bitterness till 1820. Then a negotiation was instituted by Mr. Ellice, before referred to, which resulted in the union of the two companies in 1821, on equal terms. The proprietary rights of the chartered company seem to have been offset by the energetic enterprise of the Northwesters. No more European emigrants were sent to Lord Selkirk's settlement after his death in Switzerland in 1820.

Selkirk

Kirkcudbright
October seven
1808*

As this colonial enterprise of Lord Selkirk, known afterwards as the Red River Settlement, became so important and so troublesome an element in the affairs of the Bay Company, — opening, indeed, the controversy which closed only with the extinction of the company, — a few more particulars concerning it will be here in place. The founder of the colony was said to have had a religious object in view. It was not his intention that the colony should grow and be reinforced by further emigrants from Europe. Having been started by a sufficient body, equipped as agriculturists and mechanics, it was intended that retired servants of the Bay Company, half-breeds and converted and, so to speak, civilized savages, should find there a common and congenial residence, making a sort of oasis in the desert for a happy family. It proved a distressing caricature of such a fancy. In 1817 Selkirk obtained a deed of the territory from the chiefs of the Salteaux and Cree tribes, the consideration being the annual payment of one hundred pounds of tobacco. The Crees at once and ever after denied that the Salteaux had any rights in the territory.[1] So here was trouble from the old proprietors. Selkirk, being in Canada at the time of the bloody assault by the employés of the North West Company, in which Governor Semple and twenty of his party were killed, came with a military force by Fort William and partially restored order. For the first twelve years Selkirk managed the affairs of his colony, with lavish outlays and renewed enterprise, against multiplied discouragements. The undertaking was said to have brought his estate under a charge of £85,000. After his death, for about twelve more years, his executors nominally had the colony in charge. But the company really acted for them till, in 1838, it recovered the territory by full purchase.

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* After a cut in Bryce's *Manitoba.*

Probably there was never presented on the face of the earth a stranger medley, nor a more heterogeneous combination of the elements of humanity, than in the Red River Settlement. Planted seven hundred miles away from sea-water, and that mostly bound in ice, it was wholly isolated from the world. Its natural outlet for trade, if such it should ever have, — and it could not prosper without it, — was through the region now Minnesota, in the United States, whose people the Bay Company was resolute to exclude. A whole year was necessary for an answer to an order from Europe. Humanity was represented in the territory by English, French, Scotch, Swiss, and Indian, and before long by the inevitable Yankee. But few of these were permanent settlers, who cast in their lot for fixed residence. Nominally land was free to desirable occupants. But there proved to be annoying conditions imposed by the company; and humanity shaded off into many tints and colors, through English half-breeds and French half-breeds, and their progeny through generation after generation, in many variations. For religion, there was a free choice between paganism, the Roman and the English churches, Scotch Presbyterianism, Wesleyanism, etc. The magnates of the place were the retired servants of the company, with their Indian families, — comfortable, sure of the *otium*, tenacious of the *dignitas*.

The propitious coalition of the two companies gave the now strengthened proprietors under the old charter spirit to apply for, and influence to obtain, through Parliament, what was called an additional grant. It was obtained in the same year as that which ratified the coalition of the two rival companies. This was a grant of the right of "exclusive trade" over the region known as the "Indian Territory." This was an immense expanse of indefinitely bounded and scarcely penetrated wilderness, including the whole northwestern part of the continent, its waters draining into the Arctic and the Pacific. The grant thus made was *restricted* to such parts of North America as do not form a part of any British province, nor lands of the United States nor of any foreign power. The grant was also limited to a period of twenty-one years. Thus the Hudson Bay Company found itself in possession of two covenants, the latter covering territory now estimated to include 2,764,340 square miles, a trifle larger than that held by the original charter. No reference was made to this instrument, either to confirm, extend, or even recognize it, in the later grant. The policy of the company seems to have been to assume that the original charter needed no renewal, not venturing to invite upon it the light of modern legislation.

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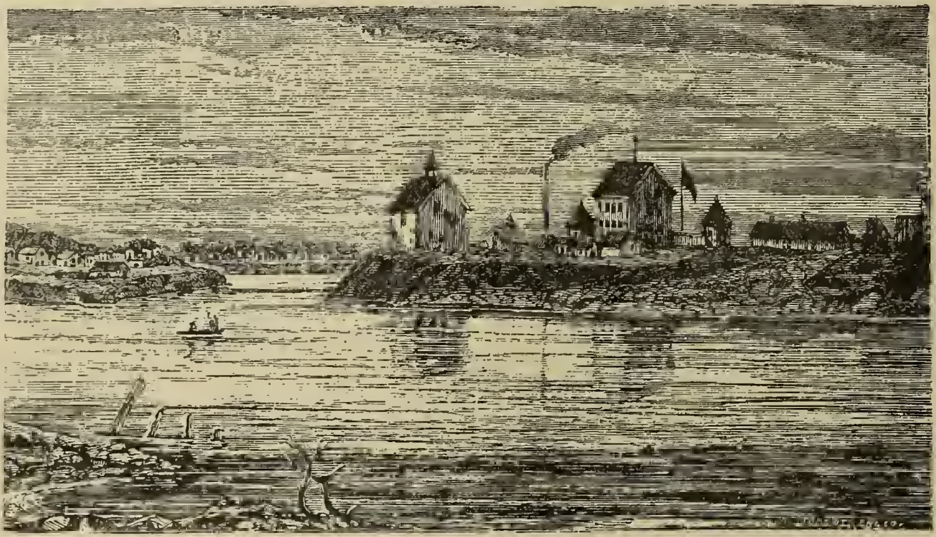
[1] When the parliamentary committee of inquiry of 1857 was engaged in investigating the affairs of the Bay Company, Penguis, the aged chief of the Salteaux tribe, wrote a letter complaining of the treatment received by him since this negotiation. His statement was fortified by testimonials, which he had received from Lord Selkirk and Sir George Simpson, of his friendliness, fidelity, and good service. As he was "in the decline of life and poor, Simpson had assured him an annuity for life from the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company of £5 sterling." Penguis charges that the contract with him had never been fulfilled by Selkirk and his successors, though he had saved Selkirk's life, and that the land deeded had been vastly extended. He adds: "We have many things to complain of against the Hudson's Bay Company. They pay us little for our furs, and when we are old we are left to shift for ourselves. We could name many old men who have starved to death in sight of many of the company's principal forts." "The traders have never done anything but rob and keep us poor, but the farmers have taught us how to farm and raise cattle." (*British Documents*, *Reports of Committees*, vol. xv. p. 445.)



CONFLUENCE OF THE RED AND ASSINIBOIN RIVERS, MANITOBA.*

The most active agent in the negotiation for the union of the Bay and the North West companies was the Hon. Edward Ellice, then of London; his two chief partners being Simon McGillivray, also of London, and William McGillivray, of Montreal. The plea on which the grant of the Indian Territory was first asked of George IV was largely urged on the ground that it would benefit and protect the natives. Governor Pelly laid stress upon the hazardous character of the business, requiring unusual enterprise to meet its risks of heavy losses. The government had been deaf to the appeals of the company for protection covenanted to it by its charter. Its profits have been no more than reasonable, considering its service to the mother country, "by a commerce wrested out of the hands of foreigners, subjects of Russia and the United States." The papers at the Colonial Office would show that during a long period of years, applications for protection and redress were made by the company without avail. The trouble continued till the rival parties, both nearly exhausted, were united. It was these considerations that first led to the license for exclusive trade in the Indian territories for a limited period of twenty-one years. The act also extended the jurisdiction of the civil and criminal courts of Canada over the chartered and the licensed territories of the company. A degree of tranquillity and of renewed prosperity followed the harmonizing and the legislative measures just rehearsed. The company, however, by thus concentrating and increasing its power, retained in exercise all the monopolizing and other objectionable features of its policy which had stirred hostility to it; and at the same time it was involved in new controversies. Here we may properly close the review of the troubles encountered by the company from rivals disputing its prerogatives, and may turn to another class of its conflicts.

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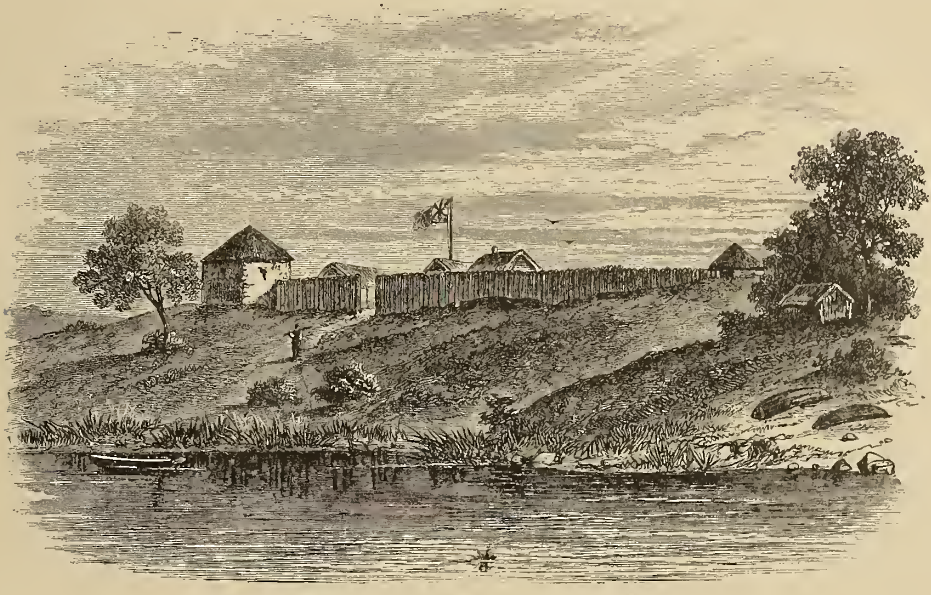
* [Reproduced from an engraving in J. C. Dent's *Last Forty Years*, ii. 104, after a drawing by the Earl of Dufferin. — Ed.]



FORT DOUGLAS, RED RIVER.*

The third series of embarrassments and contentions in which the Bay Company was involved, in being challenged as to the validity of its charter and as to its general policy, is connected with its own halting consent to allow, and then in the obstructions which it put in the way of the prosperity of, a colony planted in a portion of its territory. The inquisition and discussion attending this series of contentions finally resulted in the extinction of the monopoly of the company, and the purchase of its proprietary by the Canadian government. The struggle was a hard one. The company availed itself of the utmost ingenuity and of legal resources to parry the assaults of its enemies and to retain its profitable and exclusive right of trade. But the time was felt to have come when such far-reaching expanses of territory, containing unknown wealth, should no longer be held simply as a preserve for fur-bearing animals, and that some two or three hundred British subjects, as shareholders in a mercantile company, might appropriate to themselves all the harvestings and the gleanings. In the full and searching inquisition by a parliamentary committee near the close of the long struggle, we shall have occasion to note how thoroughly the whole process exposed the fact that it was not possible for a permanent settlement to flourish in any portion of the territory controlled by the Bay Company, while it was allowed even the slightest jurisdiction. As its last resource, the company seems to have planted itself upon what, in view of later facts, stands proved as a monstrous fiction, that its territories were wholly unsuitable for settlement. The validity of the charter was brought under question in connection with the grant to Lord Selkirk of territory for a settlement. This was a sub-grant, and its legality was denied by eminent legal

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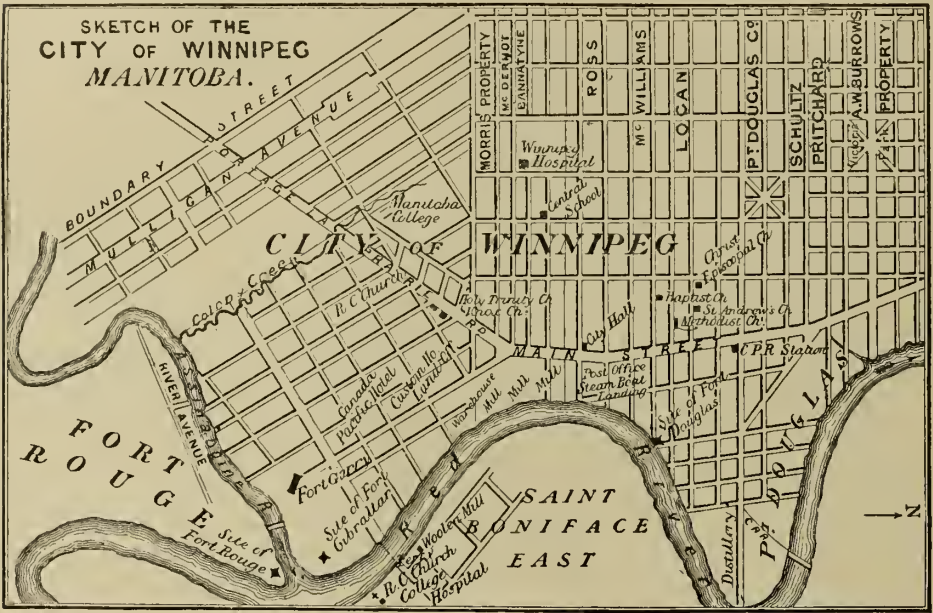
* [Reduced from a cut in Bryce's *Manitoba* (p. 160), which follows a drawing by Selkirk in 1817. — Ed.]



CITY OF WINNIPEG.*

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* [After a cut in Bryce's *Manitoba*, showing the position of the early forts in relation to the modern city. There have been five forts within the limits of Winnipeg. (Cf. George Bryce in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada*, and in the *Canadian People*, p. 335.) The first was Fort Rouge, built by Vérandrye about 1736. The second was Fort Gibraltar, built in 1806, after the union of the North West and X Y companies, which was levelled by Semple in 1818. The third was Fort Douglas, built in 1812 by Selkirk, and named after his family. This was later enlarged. The fourth was the first Fort Garry, built in 1822, near the site of Fort Gibraltar, upon the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies, which was succeeded by the fifth, the later Fort Garry, built in 1836, a little west of the earlier fort. — ED.]

counsel in 1816. Recalling the fact that the charter had been granted solely by the king, without the sanction of Parliament, it was pleaded that this royal prerogative had been judicially approved as allowed before the English Revolution, though not afterwards. The question of the validity of a similar royal charter had been raised in the case of the East India Company, and had been decided upon favorably in the King's Bench. Colonial officers, committees, and legal counsel seem on several occasions to have thought it wise not to open the fundamental question. Supposing, however, that the king might have lawfully granted a patent of territory, a vulnerable point was found in other grants conveyed by the charter. It gave a monopoly of trade to some British subjects, excluding all others; and the favored parties were empowered to impose fines and penalties, to arrest interlopers, and to seize and confiscate goods and ships. The charter had been strained to cover illegalities. It granted certain lands and waters "within the straits." These were to be reasonably limited, and not extended to lands two thousand miles distant. Some of those far-off regions were certainly to be left free to other British subjects. The French had laid a claim to the territory prior to that of Britain. Whatever the territorial rights of the French were, on the cession of Canada these rights would go through the king of England equally to all his subjects. Then, too, the sub-grant to Lord Selkirk was illegal, because the region was thus made independent of the company, and assigned to other uses than those of the company. The latter could only insist upon the rightfulness of all the claims which it asserted under the charter; and it urged that though the parliamentary sanction in the act of 1690, limited to seven years, had not been renewed, yet, in a series of acts, in 1708, 1744, 1803, and 1818, when rights of trade in America were secured to British subjects, there were saving clauses which protected the company.

In 1837, when only fifteen of the twenty-one years for which the license for "exclusive trade" with the natives in the Indian Territory had expired, the governor of the London company, J. H. Pelly,[1] asked of the crown a prospective renewal for twenty-one years further. The privilege sought was not to be exercised to the prejudice of any foreign power to the westward of the Rocky Mountains, with which there was a temporary convention. The company made a strong appeal on its claims and merits. Since the coalition with the North West Company there had been no rivalry, but much prosperity. There had been peace on the frontiers. The company had kept off the Russians from trespassing. It had favored explorations and polar expeditions, and hoped to complete the survey of the coast of the Polar Sea. The company had been at great charge to extend its establishments, and had made efforts for "the improvement and civilization of the country." Before the union of the companies the Russians and Americans had plied their enterprise with some success between Behring's Straits and the Mexican frontiers, including Astoria, and the North West Company had been sorely pressed. But now the Bay Company had strengthened itself on the Pacific, having sixteen establishments on the coast and sixteen in the near interior, several migratory and hunting parties, and six armed vessels, one a steamer, in the Pacific. With a view to a large agricultural settlement, Lord Selkirk's Red River colony had been planted, to be peopled by emigrants from Great Britain, and to draw in natives, with an aim to their civil, moral, and religious improvement, and to a large future export trade to the mother country. Selkirk's ownership had been extinguished by the company, and the result had been favorable. The population there was 2,000 whites and 3,000 natives and half-breeds, some of them substituting agriculture for hunting. Legal officers and courts were needed, and the company deserved the encouragement it would receive by a renewal of its privileges in the Indian Territory.

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[1] There is a singular coincidence in the name of this governor of a fur company, whose seal bore the legend, *Pro Pelle Cutem*, skin for skin. His cousin, Robert Pelly, was for a time local governor. The company had also in its employ a Mr. Beaver and a Mr. Hunter.

Accompanying this appeal from Governor Pelly in 1837 was a letter from the resident governor, George Simpson, reporting on the condition and state of trade in the Indian Territory previous to the license to the company. It had been a scene of lawlessness and outrage. Its Indian population was estimated at 120,000, and the liquor traffic had run riot in it. It was now tranquillized. The company derives very little benefit from the licensed territory beyond being helped to a more peaceable possession of their own. The region principally lies west of the Rocky Mountains, the most valuable portion of it bordering upon the Pacific. The company has found difficulty and scant profit in holding it against the schemes of Russia and America. But national pride prompts it to such energetic measures that it "has compelled the American adventurers to withdraw." The company is pressing hard upon the Russians, though supported by their own government and by military guards. The loss and damage to the company from the Russians in 1834 amounted to £20,000. As the territory, by a convention, is opened to the United States as well as to British subjects, the license leaves competition open. Then "the company is now promoting discovery, science, and surveys, at great expense"!

The company succeeded in obtaining, under date of May 30, 1838, a renewal of its territorial license for twenty-one years, with a reservation to the queen of a right to plant distinct colonies upon any portion of it.

In the petition of the company just rehearsed a reference is made to the trouble it encountered in the management of the Red River Settlement, with its mixed population of 5,000 whites, Indians, and half-breeds; dropping a suggestion that as this involved an expense of £5,000, the company might look to the government to repay it. We take up this annoyance from the colonial enterprise at a later period.

On February 17, 1847, a petition and memorial came before the colonial secretary of state, urging complaints against the Hudson Bay Company. The principal agent in this movement was Mr. A. K. Isbister, signing in behalf of himself and many others, as "natives of Rupert's Land," and their "fellow-countrymen, Indians and half-breeds." The complaint was, that, acting under a charter which many high legal authorities believed had lost its force, the company had set up a harsh administration and pursued a ruinous policy. By its exclusive trade with the Indians, greatly to their own injury, the company secured a princely revenue, believed to be annually a quarter of a million sterling, and perpetuated, without any improvement, the wandering, precarious, and barbarous life of the natives. It had not established church or school in its settlement, but had left all effort in this direction to charitable, missionary, and Wesleyan societies. It had neglected all measures on its own part, and opposed those of others, for opening up the country, and had done so in order to keep the land in its wilderness condition, though game was rapidly decreasing and the Indians were dying out under the curse of the liquor traffic. The company employed many ignorant and loose, demoralized characters as its agents. Though the company has an exclusive right of purchase, this does not impair the right of the natives to sell to whatever parties they please. Yet when for a higher price they try to sell their furs to others, the company seizes and confiscates the goods.

This complaining memorial was supported by another in French, signed by nine hundred and seventy-seven residents of the Red River Settlement. The Earl of Elgin, governor-general of Canada, was instructed by the secretary to investigate the grievances. Distance, formalities, and other difficulties caused great delay in the correspondence. To such reports and documents as Governor Pelly, in behalf of the company, offered to meet the allegations, Mr. Isbister replied, sentence by sentence, presenting new evidence. It appeared that eleven different partnerships in the fur trade had been pressing their operations in the region of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. They had all been crushed by or absorbed in the giant monopoly.

In following up the issue, five retired servants of the company, who had been in its employ from six to fifteen years, were put under question as to its conduct of its affairs. Their testimony was in the main unfavorable to the company, tending to show the oppressive, unjust, and mischievous results of its policy, which was alike wrongful to the natives, the mother country, and to unprivileged British subjects. If the company's grasp over the "Indian Territory" could be released, many great advantages would follow. It would induce settlements, occupy the sea-coasts, and revive the rich fisheries of salmon, porpoise, and seal. It would lead to the working of mines of copper, silver, and lead. Plantations and cultivated lands would flourish with agriculture. The natives would be helped, and there would be a good export trade. All these prospective advantages were withstood by the truculent course of the company.

Mr. Isbister, learning that the committee had applied for information to the governor of Canada, thought that the government intended to send commissioners to inquire and investigate on the ground. Being put on his guard, he wrote to Earl Grey that this would be wholly unsatisfactory, as the commissioners would be prejudiced by their necessary dependence upon the company for conveyance and support. Nor would the Indians be satisfied, as they would have to communicate their grievances only through the company's interpreters. The company will avail itself of all its devices and arbitrary means to shelter itself. Mr. Isbister proposes that at least there should attend the commissioners one person in the interest of the petitioners; the company being allowed the like privilege, if desired. Earl Grey applied to two British military officers, who successively for several months had resided at Fort Garry, in 1847 and 1848. Their answers were full, hearty, and earnest in defence of the company, and even laudatory of it. The inference, of course, was that they were under its spell. Earl Grey warmly espoused the side of the company, not seeing fit to open the question of the validity of its charter, and declining to bring the petition of the aggrieved Red River settlers before Parliament. He signified to Mr. Isbister that he must assume the expense of a judicial process if he chose to have one.

In 1846 a body of five hundred British troops had been sent to the settlement as if to preserve order, and had been withdrawn after two years, when a squad of pensioners followed. Mr. Alexander Ross, who was in the settlement at the time, says there was no other apparent reason for these military precautions than "the unmeaning fuss and gasconade of the Americans about the Oregon question."[1] Frequent references are found, in the occasions when the Bay Company was under the assaults of its opponents, to the valuable service it claimed to render to the British government in "resisting the encroachments of the Americans." The company was constantly alarmed by actual and threatened competition in the fur trade, first by parties of half-breeds and natives in its own settlements, and then by bold trespassers across the boundary line. Naturally enough, the jealousy of the company extended to trade and traffic in any articles within its own territories in which it was not itself a party. In the antagonism between it and the resident colonists represented by Mr. Isbister, we find the latter party fretting under the restrictions and impositions which prevented all expansion of the thrift and prosperity of the settlement. They complained that they really had no market for any surplus produce, and so had no motive to enterprise. The company had refused to export in its own ships — and no other ships were allowed in the bay — a quantity of tallow brought to its depot by a settler. A half-breed and an Indian were forbidden to buy and sell furs in the colony. Vexations and annoyances of the most exasperating character were made to burden and depress the restive members of an isolated community at a time when, south of the boundary line, especially in Minnesota, American enterprise was advancing with giant strides. There had come into use in the settlement vast numbers of vehicles of a peculiar construction, known as "Red River carts," rough, strong, and easily repaired, made wholly of wood, without a particle of metal. Long processions of these went out over the plains, in the great buffalo hunts, to bring home the hides and meat from the thousands of carcasses. What more natural than that these should pass the border at Pembina, and open a profitable international commerce? But then the bugbear of free competition with the "Yankees" in peltry presented itself as a warning. The intelligent Mr. Ross, while admitting that an allowance of free trade in furs would have been disastrous, as introducing strife, bloodshed, and ruin, however insists that buying and bartering ought to have been allowed between the Indians and the half-breeds. It was not strange that the Canadians in the settlement should have been in strong sympathy with their brethren in Canada during the so-called "Papineau Rebellion," and have hoped for its success. The half-breeds raised the Papineau standard on the plains, where it hung for many years.

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[1] *Red River Settlement*, p. 364.

Mr. Isbister persevered in his efforts with government officials in England, especially with the Colonial Secretary, in order to bring the grievances of his fellow-colonists before the public, and to secure a redress. Of course, this involved a repetition of charges and complaints against the Bay Company, beginning with a denial of the validity of its charter, and covering all its policy as to trade, its utter neglect of all measures for educating and civilizing and converting the natives, and its actual reduction of many of them to abject destitution. He always came to this work of antagonism well fortified with facts and documents. Particularly did he controvert the pleas advanced on the side of the company: that the territories under its jurisdiction were wholly unsuitable for agricultural settlements; were barren, destitute of wood for building and fuel, and locked in ice and snow during so large a part of the year that grains and garden crops would not ripen. The company was too strong under its patronage to be worsted by all his appeals and exposures. The authorities would not through legal advisers open the question of the validity of the company's charter, and any complaint of mal-administration under it must be brought by complainants, at their own charges, before the proper tribunal. As we shall see, the solution of the problem came in due season from a proper source in Canada.

The colonists whom Lord Selkirk had led to his settlement, and their descendants, were Scotch Presbyterians. As such, they had what they felt to be a serious and an embittered grievance in their relations with the Bay Company. Selkirk had pledged to them that he would secure, to accompany them in their exile, a minister of their own kirk, and who should officiate in the Gaelic tongue. The promise was not fulfilled. In the buffetings and disasters which the exiles encountered during many years, shut in by a cordon of ice and savagery, with fighting and famine and wandering, they sorely missed the cheer and solace of their familiar ministrations. After Selkirk's death they thought the company had assumed his promises and obligations. But when an appeal, with attested documents, was addressed to the office in London, the reply was that the company knew nothing of such an obligation, but would give a passage to a minister, if those who wished him would procure and support him. In the mean while these Presbyterians, with what grace they could, attended the services of the English Church at the settlement, greatly disliking its method and ritual. In vain did they appeal to each successive local governor, as he assumed office, to carry out the pledge made to them. Not till after the lapse of nearly forty years from their coming did the Presbyterians receive a minister of their own faith, and he was procured through friendly help from Canada. Three hundred of these colonists — sheep following their own shepherd — at once left the services of the English Church, thus provoking a new feud.[1]

The progress of the controversy over the Oregon boundary reveals many traces of the secret agency of the Hudson Bay Company in setting up claims and influencing public opinion. These traces are obvious in many articles in leading reviews and other publications, and in hints acted upon by British diplomats. Looking shrewdly to developments in the future, — which, however, were hurried in their advance by the vigorous pushing forward of settlers from the United States in still disputed territory, — the Bay Company in 1841 sent a party from the Red River to establish a colony on Vancouver's Island. The island was then supposed to be British territory. But when, by the treaty of 1846, Oregon fell to the United States, provision was made that the company should retain its territorial rights there. Dr. McLaughlin, who, as an agent of the North West Company, had been a strong opponent of the Bay Company, after the coalition in 1821 became a factor of the latter, and was made local governor west of the Rocky Mountains. He was regarded as indifferent to the company's interests, and as favoring settlers from the United States near the Columbia, so as effectually to weaken the claims of Great Britain to Oregon. When the colony from the Red River arrived it received but a cold welcome from him. The British grant to the company for a colony in Vancouver's Island was dated January 13, 1849. The draft of the charter,[2] as originally favored by Earl Grey, a strong champion of the company, was greatly modified before it passed the seals, the powers conferred by it on the company being reduced and qualified. Still the provisions of the charter were very objectionable, and were found to be quite unfavorable to those disposed to settle in the territory. Their grievances were plainly spoken when they discovered on the ground the restrictions and limitations attached to residence and trade. An object of the company in securing a footing on the island had in view the expiration in 1859 of its renewed twenty years' license in the Indian territories. The modifications introduced into the draft of the charter fortunately provided some safeguards. The crown retained the right to recall the grant at the end of five years; and when the renewed term of the license for the Indian territories should expire in 1859, the crown might purchase the island by remunerating the company for its outlays. It is observable that by these cautious reservations of crown rights, both in the renewal of the license in the Indian Territory and in the Vancouver charter, no such limitless liberality for a monopoly as was indulged in the Bay charter was to be again ventured.

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[1] Mr. Ross, who was the most efficient agent in this work, gives a full account of it in his *Red River Settlement.*

[2] It is given by Martin. See Critical Essay.

Now as the Hudson Bay Company, having warded off all challengers on its original fields, had intrenched itself on a new one, looking forward to security and perpetuity, we are to follow the course of inquiry and negotiation which led it to the release of its grasp.

The whole contents of a substantial folio volume of British documents[1] are devoted to a "Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company; together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Minutes of Evidence." The committee consisted of nineteen members, including Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone. Among the members was the Right Hon. Edward Ellice. As previously mentioned, he, as a most active member of the North West Company, had been a vigorous opponent of the Bay Company. After the coalition, he was a most strenuous champion of the latter. In this investigation he appears in two rôles: first, as a questioner, endeavoring to draw out or to suppress testimony agreeable or objectionable to him; second, as a witness, positive in his statements and skilled in reticence and reserve. The committee held some twenty sessions, from February to July inclusive, and examined twenty-five witnesses. The commission was held in view of the near approach of the period when the renewed license for exclusive trade, in 1838, for twenty-one years, granted to the company in the Indian Territory, would expire. This alone would make it necessary that the condition of the whole of those vast regions administered by the company should be carefully considered. But other circumstances made such a course the duty of Parliament. Three reasons are mentioned: the desire of Canadian fellow-subjects of extension and settlement over a portion of the territory; the provision of suitable administration over the affairs of Vancouver's Island; and the condition of the settlement on the Red River. Chief Justice Draper was commissioned by the government of Canada to watch the inquiry, and he offered testimony. There was put in evidence taken before a committee of the legislative assembly. The committee also had the opinion of the law officers of the crown on points connected with the charter of the Bay Company. The inquiry covered three descriptions of territory, — the chartered or Rupert's Land, the Indian Territory, and Vancouver's Island. The committee came to the conclusion that, as one object of imperial policy, it was essential to meet the just and reasonable wishes of Canada to annex some portion of the neighboring land best suited for communication and settlement, for which she would provide the means of local administration. The districts best suited for this are those on the Red River and the Saskatchewan. It is hoped that arrangements may be made between the government and the Bay Company for ceding to Canada on equitable principles these districts, the authority of the company in them then to cease. The details of the arrangement would be maturely considered by Parliament. If Canada is not at once ready to undertake the government of the Red River district, some temporary provision may be made. It will be well, as soon as convenient, to terminate the connection between the company and Vancouver's Island, and to extend the colony on the latter. As to the extensive regions both of Rupert's Land and of the Indian Territory, of which there is no present prospect of their settlement by any of the European race, view must be had to three possible dangers: the risks of lawlessness and disorder; the fatal effects on the natives of competition in the fur trade, and the greater freedom for introducing spirits; and the danger of the indiscriminate destruction of the fur-bearing animals. For these reasons the committee judge that, whatever may be the validity, or otherwise, of the rights claimed by the company under its charter, it is desirable that it should continue to hold its privilege of exclusive trade, though limited by the foregoing considerations. The committee cannot say how far the claims of the company, based on its chartered rights, may obstruct, but hope for an amicable adjustment of the matter, through conciliation and justice. A bill in the next session of Parliament may provide an equitable and satisfactory arrangement.

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[1] *Reports from Committees*, vol. xv. 1857.

Before making a cursory review of the points of inquiry and evidence in this elaborate parliamentary investigation, an incidental topic presents itself in the appearance, as both a member of the committee and as a witness before it, of a gentleman already referred to, the Right Honorable Edward Ellice. His associates must have found some amusement in his skill and fence. In questioning witnesses he showed that skill in seeking to guard the credit and interest of the company: he would draw out vouchers of the necessity, the justice, and the practical wisdom of its policy; that it treated the natives humanely, providing for their own improvement, medical service, and civilization; that it was compelled to forbid competition in trade; and that its territory was wholly unsuited for agricultural settlements. Mr. Ellice showed his fence as a witness by holding the committee strictly to its official authority within a certain range of inquiry. He dodged all questions of a personal or private nature. He stoutly refused to make revelations about the profits or to give the names of the shareholders of the company, intimating that that was not the committee's business. He was confronted with an extract from a book of his old partner, McGillivray.[1] This asserted that "Selkirk, having acquired the majority of votes, held the Bay Company under his thumb, and thus secured his immense tract of country, and that the attorney-general ought to look into it." Mr. Ellice naively replied that perhaps he himself was the author of that "libel" on the company. He had written and uttered as bad ones at the time of violent contests. He himself wrote a book in 1816.

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[1] *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America*, 1815.

The principal points of inquiry by the committee concerned the company's relations to the natives and influence upon them in trade and intercourse; the use of spirituous liquors; efforts of civilization and education; the profits of the company; the consequences of competition and free trade; the quality of the soil and its adaptation for flourishing agricultural settlements.

In all the official inquiries and hearings before the colonial board and parliamentary committees, when the affairs of the chartered company were brought under investigation in consequence of the frequent petitions and complaints coming from mercantile and other parties interested in opposition, — these petitions and complaints becoming steadily more earnest and severe till the object of them was effective, — the representatives of the company, as well as its assailants, were very sharply questioned as to the influence wrought by the policy of the company on the condition and experience of the aborigines. It seems to have been generally assumed that the company was under some obligation, expressed or implied, to have in view the welfare of the natives, to help and raise them as human beings, to add to their means and comforts of living, and to seek their moral and religious advancement. It has been already admitted that the charter imposed no obligation of this sort; that in fact it made no reference whatever to the subject. This fact, however, was not accepted as discharging the company from the manifest obligations of civilized humanity. The fact was notorious that the natives had been serviceable to the company in insuring it a scale of pecuniary profits unparalleled in any other mercantile business, and the interest was one of something better than curiosity to know how the other parties to the trade, who, by perilous and severe toil through a desolate wilderness, were subtracting from it its precious wealth, were benefited, or, it might be, injured in the results.

Many large and searching questions covering this subject were put in general terms. The answers to them, when not reluctantly made, were evasive and vague. As the questions became sharper, more specific, or pointed, the disclosures drawn forth were certainly unsatisfactory in the light of humanity, even if they exposed a course of proceeding and dealing more or less compelled by circumstances or required by policy. The questions were such as these: Had the number of the Indians increased or decreased during the long period of the company's intercourse with them? Were their wild habits softened and their physical comforts multiplied? Had they been persuaded and aided to take the first steps toward civilization by forming fixed abodes, subduing parcels of ground, devoting themselves to tillage in its simplest processes, and making provision in times of plenty for the seasons of famine, during which it was known that starvation had frequently driven many of them to cannibalism?

Did the company provide at its posts surgeons and physicians, medical and hospital stores, for the aged and infirm Indians who had been in its service? Had any efforts been made and any expense been incurred by the company in providing schools and moral and religious instruction for the natives?

It is interesting to scan the information drawn out from the friends as well as from the opponents of the company in answer to these searching questions. The information has a very important bearing upon a subject on which much has been said and written without a proper regard for the facts involved in it. There has been very much boasting and complacency on the part of Englishmen, and very much of censorious criticism uttered by them, on the plea that the American aborigines have always received far more just and humane treatment from all the various classes of Englishmen, traders, colonists, and soldiers, than from the citizens of the United States; that Englishmen have almost uniformly been at peace with them, while American citizens have been in a continuous state of warfare; that they have multiplied under British dealing with them, and wasted away from the contact of the United States. Leaving out of view much else that might be said on this subject, especially the prime consideration of the steady pushing on the frontiers of civilization in the interests of the actual settlement and improvement of territory by American citizens, an enterprise never entered upon by Englishmen till within quite recent years, enough information was drawn out, in the inquiries just referred to, to reduce all grounds of boasting or complacency on the side of Englishmen.

It was shown, as a matter of course, that the relations of the company and its servants with the Indians had been uniformly peaceful and friendly. Any acts of trespass, or insolence, or violence on the part of the intruding Englishmen, who had come, not to settle, but to traffic, and that, too, in articles which they themselves could not directly obtain, would have been worse than folly. The first stations of the company were close to the shores of the bay, and it was very long before it ventured to penetrate farther in towards the interior at positions on lake and river connecting outposts with their base. And when it did so, it was only tentatively, feeling the way carefully, and after having assured the interest of the nearest Indians by traffic. Peace was a prime essential. True, some of the posts of the company from the first, and those afterwards advanced farthest inland, were called "forts" as well as "factories." But the term "fort" could not in seriousness be attached to more than some half dozen of the posts from first to last occupied by the company, especially two upon the bay and two upon the Red River territory. A simple stockade surrounding a blockhouse was generally the most that was offered in the way of protection and defence. And some of the most exposed trading posts, the farthest inland, were wholly defenceless. Their security against violence lay entirely in the recognition that each one of them represented a powerful company, with which Indians were concerned to be in amity.

The company was understood to admit that its influence over and its effect upon the natives, especially such of them as were not in most intimate relations with its officers and servants, had been impaired and modified by rivalry in the fur trade, by the license of individual traffickers, and by other agencies interfering with its sole responsibility in the matter. Where the company regarded itself as alone in the field, its monopoly was held as investing it with a sort of judicial authority and obligation. So long as it had only the natives to deal with, and the intercourse of the natives was confined strictly to its officers and servants, order and amity were preserved. The natives regarded these first white men, furnished with all the cunning instruments and appliances of civilization, medicines, tools, clocks, burning-glasses, music-boxes, and magic-lanterns, as a superior sort of beings, evidently in favor with the great "Manitou." These supposed supernatural resources were not disclaimed by those who found their account in the assumed possession of them. But when free traders from Canada and the United States, and missionaries with their various creeds, came in to tempt, and bribe, and confound the natives, the influence of the company over them was greatly reduced, and it was very ready to diminish its sense of responsibility.[1] A prominent resident in the colony, not unfriendly to the company, and himself an earnest Scotch Presbyterian, utters himself very frankly upon this point: "It is denied by many, nor do we pledge ourselves to the fact, that the company ever contemplated such a sacrifice [the support of missionaries] for the sake of the gospel; but this we know, and so may others who are in the least conversant with the nature of their trade know, that the introduction of Christianity to Rupert's Land was destructive of its very sinews."[2] This certainly is a most frank admission of the fact that the engrossing interest of the company was to regard and to use the natives with sole reference to a mercantile object, without care for anything that would elevate them in the scale of humanity or improve their own condition. It appeared in evidence that some of the more influential officers and representatives of the company withstood the efforts of missionaries in the settlement to induce in their converts a suspension of ordinary labors on the Sabbath.[3]

As for the rest, the whole weight of the evidence drawn from the questioning of the company as to its relations with the natives, on the matters above referred to, disclosed that the company acted with sole and exclusive regard to its one towering, paramount, and absorbing aim, the accumulation of profit from trade. Whatever tended to advance this object the company favored; whatever would hinder or was inconsistent with it, the company resolutely opposed. The Indian was to be drawn into the condition of dependence, and the more earnest and industrious he could be induced to become the better for the company, if not for him. It soon became the custom of the company to keep all the natives that hunted and trapped for it in its debt, by making an advance to them in supplies, when settling the accounts of the previous year. The natives were in fact reduced to a state of slavish dependence on the traders. It would have been not only difficult as against the whole grain and bent of nature in the man of the wilderness, but equally as thwarting the greed of the traders, to have induced the former to apply himself to the tasks of agriculture. When his presence and labor were needed to till and gather his crops, he would be away, perhaps hundreds of miles, hunting and trapping. The Indians in fact became so increasingly and wholly dependent upon the resources of the company as to render themselves perfectly wretched without it. Before the coming of the fur traders they had had warring in their tribes, to what extent in losses or calamities no servant of the company, with a view to the interests of history, seems to have concerned himself to learn when the information might have been obtained. Up to their intercourse with the whites, the Indians had found their own implements, weapons, and resources wholly sufficient for them. It was afterwards found that when these had been disused for a generation it took nearly a lifetime to learn to make them serviceable again. The subsistence and clothing of a few scattered Indians required but a slight draft upon the creatures of the wilderness. Every portion and fragment of a buffalo, hide, flesh, sinew, horn, tendon, and bone, served some frugal use of the Indians. But when thousands of these hordes on the plains were slaughtered for their hides and tongues only, it was found that the terms "infinite" and "countless," applied to their numbers, were exaggerations. When the beaver, the silver-fox, the marten, and the otter had a value assigned to them by fashion, in London, Paris, and China, the instincts of these creatures were circumvented by the intelligent greed of the savage, and the slaughter raged among them. Firearms, ammunition, and steel traps triumphed over the bow and arrow and the simple snare. An entire change was brought about in the character and habits of whole tribes of Indians. Game in many localities was exhausted, and when no peltries were brought into the posts the supplies failed. Starvation followed. It was proved that the company had not provided physicians and refuges, and that it had done nothing for the teaching of the Indians or for their moral and religious welfare; that missionaries and teachers, after long complaint and remonstrance, had been forced into the territories of the company by benevolent agencies; and that when the company had been shamed into a grudging addition of a pittance for these objects, it was used as "a sop" to avert or silence just complaints. And worst of all, a vast amount of evidence proved that whenever and wherever the company was in rivalry or collision with other bodies, or even with single individuals, in the fur trade, it made the freest use of intoxicating liquors, to the most fearful demoralization and ruin of the Indians.

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[1] See Lieut. Butler's Report to Lieut.-Gov. Archibald, of Manitoba, Appendix to Butler's *Great Lone Land*.

[2] Ross's *Red River Settlement*, p. 297.

[3] A sly reflection upon the wholly secular aims of the company was dropped in a witty sarcasm uttered by an observer of its policy. Being asked by a stranger the meaning of the letters "H. B. C." inscribed on the flying flag at one of the posts, he answered, "Here Before Christ."

The writer of these pages need hardly interpose a disclaimer that these statements, presented as they appear on the record, are offered merely to offset the plea that the natives of this continent have fared better by the hands of Englishmen than of Americans. The facts here reviewed are suggestive of a more instructive lesson. An intelligent observer might well have been led to imagine that, in view of that perplexing and always disheartening question, — What ought to have been the relations into which Europeans should have placed themselves with the natives, with any hopefulness of justice and humanity toward them? — the opportunities of the Hudson Bay Company would have been especially favorable. Amity, cordiality, strict equity, and mutual advantage, were objects of primary importance to both parties. Beyond those the more favored of the parties might have regarded itself as under obligations imposed by humanity and generosity. Of these the company was not considerate. In the game of profit and loss, the company was the only winner.[1]

In all the more searching inquisitions into the affairs of the company there were, of course, repeated efforts made to ascertain the profits accruing from its trade and operations. It is possible that, as these were known to have been very large, popular fancy and rumor may have foolishly exaggerated them. Only an expert who had full and free powers to examine its ledgers and accounts through its whole charter existence would have the means of reaching the exact facts of the matter. Such information as at different times was drawn from rather unwilling and reticent witnesses was incomplete and fragmentary. Perhaps as its operations were so extended and scattered in place and time, with so many open and progressive enterprises in action, the company found the accounts of several years running in together, so that outlay, income, balance of interest, and indebtedness were with difficulty separated. There was so much "watering of stock," as the phrase now is, that a rate of interest on original capital became merged in its own premium. The company was always increasing its plant without assessment on its shareholders, but from its undivided profits. After its coalition with the North West Company, its field of operations and its force of agents and employés were vastly extended and increased. It was always planting new posts, and rarely abandoning old ones. The cost of communicating with and manning the most distant ones, the sending supplies and the gathering in the furs, would postpone immediate returns. Indeed, it was asserted in behalf of the company that a period of five, and in some cases of even seven years might elapse before actual returns from a specific invoice of goods sent from the company's warehouse in London would reach it by the homeward-bound ship. It was known that the goods of all kinds purchased by the company for the Indian traffic were largely of an inferior sort. Some were manufactured for the purpose; some were damaged, some out of fashion. But they all were turned to good account. A quart of English spirits at sixpence, with one third water, reducing its cost to fourpence, was the equivalent of a beaver-skin, which brought at an average, in London, nine shillings. "A couple of cotton kerchiefs (the delight of a squaw), which my lady's maid would disdain to be the owner of, and a couple of ten-pound bank-notes from my lady's purse, mark the two extremes between which lies the history of a marten-skin or sable."[1]

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[1] A committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, in a communication under date of May 18, 1857, addressed to Mr. Labouchere, chairman of the parliamentary committee, make the following statement: "The monopoly of the fur trade, if not a compact for the benefit of the Indian, is an injustice, as it deprives him of the fair value of his toil, debars him from intercourse with civilized man and the ameliorating influences without which he can never rise in the scale of humanity. For the last two centuries has the right of exclusion been rigidly enforced from the shores of the Hudson's Bay, and never, perhaps, in the whole world and in all time has a fairer opportunity been offered for the regeneration of the Indian race. No surrounding communities have acted upon them with evil and pernicious influences, no opposing interests have interfered with the most comprehensive and benevolent plans for their amelioration; they have been cut off from the intercourse, the contentions, and the contagion of the world. And yet what has been the result? The system which has made the company prosperous and powerful has made the Indian a slave, and his country a desert. He is at this day wandering about his native land without home or covering, as much a stranger to the blessings of civilization as when the white man first landed on his shores." *British Documents*, *Reports of Committees*, vol. xv. p. 444.

The governor of the company in London, J. H. Pelly, under examination by the lords of committee of privy council, February 7, 1838, communicated these statements. From the date of the charter in 1670 for twenty years, to 1690, the returns of the company had been £118,014, and this notwithstanding the losses to their establishments by the French, between 1682 and 1688. There had been a dividend to shareholders in 1684 of fifty per cent. The like dividend was paid in 1688. In 1689 the dividend was twenty-five per cent. In 1690 the stock was trebled [watered] without any call being made on the shareholders. So the twenty-five per cent. dividend of that year was really seventy-five per cent. From 1692 to 1697 the damage done by the French in the capture of its establishments subjected the company to a loss of £97,500. This compelled the company to borrow money temporarily at six per cent. Yet, notwithstanding this, in 1720 it again trebled its capital stock, with a call on its shareholders of only ten per cent. Again the company suffered a severe loss from the French, in 1782, by the destruction of its posts by La Perouse. Then it paid for a while dividends of from five to twelve per cent., averaging nine per cent. Mr. Pelly testified that "the state of the books is defective." The original capital of the company of adventurers was £10,500. The returns of profit were so large that in 1690 it was agreed to set it down as treble, and to estimate it at £31,500. It was trebled again in 1720, and declared to be £94,500. In a new subscription it was agreed that £100 on each share should be counted as £300. In the coalition between the companies, each contributed £200,000 to a joint capital of £400,000. The reasons given for the first trebling of the capital were five: 1. The company had goods in its warehouses exceeding in value its original stock. 2. It had also as much more in its ships and cargoes. 3. It had rich deposits in its posts or factories. 4. It had provided many new posts. 5. It might expect remuneration for damages from the French.

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[1] Butler's *Wild North Land*, p. 199.

In 1836 the company had paid the heirs of Lord Selkirk for the return of the Red River territory a sum which stood on its books as a balance between the cost, the interest added, and the profits deducted, at £84,111. In the region covered by the company's trade there were 136 posts, besides hunting and fishing stations: these were held by 25 chief factors, 27 chief traders, 152 clerks, and 1,200 regular, besides other temporary, servants, many of them natives. There were twenty-two principal trading and distributing centres. In the list of the company printed in November, 1847, there were 239 proprietors of stock of the capital of £400,000. Each member to be eligible to the committee of seven must hold at least £1,800 in stock. The sales of the furs were made several times a year, at auction, at the company's office in London. There were great variations in the prices. Thus, in 1839, 55,486 beaver skins brought £76,312. But in 1846, 45,389 brought only £7,856. Of an average revenue of £200,000, the profits beyond expenses were £110,000. In its most active trade, the annual export of the Bay was valued at £25,000.[1]

The annual profits were apportioned into one hundred shares. Of these the proprietors of stock received sixty; the other forty were divided between the chief factors and the chief traders, the former having two parts to the latter's one. This was instead of salary to such officials. On retiring from service the full payment was rendered for one year, and half the amount for the following five years, free from any risk through the company's losses. Thrifty apprentices would leave a large portion of their annual pay at interest in the hands of the company. Many who had been long in service retired on a fair competency. One such left a legacy of £10,000 to promote the interests of education and religion in the Red River Settlement. The company, by its method of dividing profits among its officials, secured their best coöperation more effectually than if it had paid a scale of salaries. When two chief traders retired, one clerk could be promoted. When two chief factors retired, a chief trader could be promoted. When the limited pensions of retired partners fell in, there was another chance for the promotion of a clerk.

In the inquiry before the parliamentary committee in 1857, it appeared, from the return of the secretary of the company, that it had voted to add £100,000 to the estimate of capital, and to have it stand at £500,000. The assets were then estimated, beyond liabilities, at £1,265,067 19*s.* 4*d.* During the ten years between 1847 and 1856, the annual dividends were ten per cent., besides more than twenty-three per cent. during the period paid as new stock. Of the 268 proprietors in July, 1856, 196 had purchased their stock from 220 to 240 per cent. Governor Pelly admitted that from 1690 to 1800 the annual profits on the capital stock actually paid in were from sixty to seventy per cent.

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[1] There were sold at the company's premises in London in the year 1848: 21,348 beaver skins, 54 pounds of coat beaver and pieces; 6,588 otter; 1,102 fishers; 900 silver foxes; 19,449 cross, white, and red foxes; 31,115 lynxes; 11,292 wolf; 908 wolverine; 150,785 marten or sable; 38,103 mink; 195 sea-otter; 150 fur seal; 2,997 bear; 18,553 muskrats; 1,651 swan; 632 cat; 2,889 deer; 2,090 raccoon, etc., etc. The sales in London, apart from those in Canada, the United States, China, etc., exceed £200,000. (Ryerson's *Hudson's Bay*, 121.) The writer says the cargo of the vessel in which he sailed from the Bay to London, in 1854, was valued at £120,000.

In view of facts which are brought under our notice, this passing year, of the enterprise, prosperity, and rich prospects of the province of Manitoba, the present representative of the Red River Settlement, it is amusingly, even ludicrously suggestive of the blind with which ends of selfish policy will cover even the sharpest eyes, to read the testimony which the Bay Company offered to the parliamentary committee as to the fitness of any portions of its territories for colonies and agricultural settlements. One single plain question, straightly put and frankly answered, would have saved the space of many pages of examination, cross-examination, ingenious dodging, and equivocal assertions on the present record. That question as addressed to the company might have been this : Will the use to which you put your vast territories consist with any other use that would accrue to the advantage of any party besides the Hudson's Bay Company? The frank answer would have been No. The only suggestion which will save the credit of the company from just reflections upon the obstructive and misleading results to which it appeared to wish to lead the inquiry as to the qualities of soil and climate in its territories, is found in allowance for its long-indulged prejudices and prepossessions. Many hints are dropped, in the large class of books written by the employés of the Bay Company, that it discouraged any enterprises of tillage and even of garden culture about its posts. Where occasionally such oases appeared they are ascribed to the thrift or good taste of a factor, trader, or other officer.

Among those who took the stand before the committee, and who were sharply questioned on this point, were John Ross, Esq., Dr. J. Rae, Col. J. H. Lefroy, Sir George Simpson, Hon. Edward Ellice, and Sir John Richardson. They had each and all the best means of knowledge of the character and qualities of large sections of the expanded territories under the control of the company, while of course there were larger portions which were most imperfectly known ; and each and all of them gave the most discouraging testimony concerning the inhospitality of the country, its uninviting character, its wide stretches of barrenness, its treacherous frosts, its dismal reaches of swamp and marsh, its treeless plains, and of the limitation of fertility to the near banks of rivers. Sir George Simpson, who in his long service of local governor had floated or tramped most widely over the country, pronounced its soil to be poor, its climate treacherous, and all its produce at the mercy of devastating inundations. This was said of the Red River Settlement and its surroundings. Richardson, the Arctic explorer, testified that the land was worthless for settlement, and he marvelled that it had ever been entered upon except for furs. Mr. Ellice affirmed that it was no place for agricultural settlers, and he volunteered to say the same of the border territory of Minnesota, now so luxuriant.

Strange enough is it to turn from these doleful judgments to the facts verified and illustrated twenty-five years after the date of their utterance. The Red River Settlement, represented now by the province of Manitoba, is known as perhaps the richest wheat-growing country of the whole globe. Annual crops have been reaped in succession from its fields for sixty years, without the use of any fertilizers. The farmers have no use for the stable manure. Indeed, it was found necessary to pass an ordinance imposing a penalty of twenty-five dollars on any one who should pollute the river, as actually had been done by dumping into it the heaps of the barnyard. We read of sixty and seventy bushels of wheat grown to the acre; of single potatoes that weigh two pounds, and turnips twenty pounds; of squashes one hundred and thirty-eight pounds, and of cabbages five feet in girth. The region is in fact the bed of an old fresh-water sea that has gathered the loam and muck of ages. The extent of this fertile region is four hundred miles in length by seventy in breadth.[1]

Happily Mr. Gladstone was not convinced by the testimony offered that the vast territories held by the Bay Company were designed and adapted by Providence solely for a preserve for fur-bearing animals. He had satisfied himself that while the lands below the boundary line were being so rapidly and prosperously turned to account by the enterprise of settlers in the United States, it could not be that the blight of desolation and barrenness was visited on Rupert's Land. The result of the parliamentary inquiry was expressed in the acceptance of two resolutions, proposed by Mr. Gladstone: first, that the territory capable of colonization and settlement should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the company; second, that the territory unsuited to such uses should remain under its jurisdiction. These resolutions were accompanied by a suggestion from the committee to the Bay Company that an amicable arrangement should be made for bringing the question of Canadian boundary lines before the judicial committee of the privy council. Governor Pelly, in behalf of the company, consented to the proposal, suggesting that due regard be had to keeping good faith with shareholders and with parties who had purchased lands of the company, and recognizing the just claims of factors, traders, and servants at its posts.

More than ten years were yet to pass before the final disposal of the controverted interests. New and very pressing elements came rapidly into the issue to compel decisive action. The claims of Canada for the extension of its bounds and the amazing vigor exhibited by the United States in the construction of transcontinental railroads brought out in strong contrast the strange arrest and prohibition of all like enterprise north of the boundary line. Emigration and colonization companies under British patronage stood ready to turn to account opportunities which seemed to invite and even to compel activity. Jealousy at the manifestation of a strong preference by British emigrants for settling in the United States came in as quite a potent motive for bringing the monopoly of the Bay Company to a close. As a result, an act was passed by the British Parliament in 1867, enabling the Queen to accept a surrender *on terms to be agreed upon*, of the lands, privileges, and rights of the company, and for transfer of territory and administration to the Dominion of Canada.[1] An act, designated the "Rupert's Land Act," had made it competent for the company to surrender, and for the Queen to accept, all the lands, privileges, rights, etc., granted to the company by its charter. An address from the Canadian Parliament to the Queen in council asked liberty to admit Rupert's Land and the Northwest territory to union with the Dominion, and power of legislation for them by the Parliament *on terms* hereafter.

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[1] [Fort Garry, for instance, is on the summer line of Vermont and New Hampshire. Cf. map of the Dominion of Canada, in A. T. Russell's *Red River Country* (Ottawa, 1869, and Montreal, 1870). The fertile belt, extending from the Lake of the Woods with a northerly sweep so as in part to embrace the valleys of the Assiniboin and Saskatchewan rivers and reaching to the Rocky Mountains, is shown in the map in the 2d vol. of H. Y. Hind's *Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857* (London, 1860). — Ed.]

The terms secured by the company were certainly of a most generous character, and are in keeping with the remarkable pecuniary profit which had attended its operations during the two centuries of its chartered existence. The company was still in its corporate capacity to be allowed to carry on its trade, and to be paid for its franchise the sum of £300,000 by the Canadian government. It was to retain the fee of all its posts and stations, with a reservation of an additional block of land at each of them, and one twentieth section of the so-called "fertile belt," to be decided by the casting of the lot. All titles of land that had been heretofore given by the company were to be confirmed, and the Canadian and imperial governments were to relieve it of all responsibility in settling the claims of the Indians. The reserved lands thus covenanted to the company make up in area 45,160 acres. Of these, 25,700 acres are in that marvellously rich territory of the "fertile belt," between the northern branch of the Saskatchewan and the boundary of the United States. The globe has no more teeming soil than is found there. And now the venerable Hudson Bay Company is a rival in the market as a land company! It is a curious and amusing spectacle to look at it in its present capacity, after having read the voluminous testimony before rehearsed as offered before the parliamentary committee, in the interest of the company, to prove that the territory was put to its best use by the Indian fur-hunter with his traps, and was worthless for all ends of husbandry and agriculture. Of course the grounds reserved by the company have acquired a vastly enhanced value, especially the five hundred acres near the site of old Fort Garry, in Winnipeg, the centre of life in the province of Manitoba.[2]

It is thought that the financial prosperity of the company in its present field of operations will even exceed that of any period in its past.

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[1] *British Public Bills*, vol. ii. 1867-8.

[2] The parliamentary acts, with all the accompanying documents, schedules, etc., of this somewhat complicated negotiation are in the *London Gazette* of June 24, 1870.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE large body of narrative, descriptive, and controversial literature upon which the story of the preceding chapter is based may be divided into two classes. The one embraces the publications issued by the British government as containing the processes and results of official inquiries into the affairs and the administration of the Hudson Bay Company.[1] In those volumes we find the charter of the company;[2] the successive grants of privileges in territory not included in the charter; illustrative and explanatory documents; official correspondence, petitions, memorials, reports of committees of inquiry; the testimony of witnesses in complaint or defence; and a detail of the course through which, in the action of the imperial government and of the Dominion government of Canada, the territorial rights and administrative powers held by the Bay Company under its charter were surrendered on terms, including remuneration.

The volumes of *British Documents* which have furnished matter of information and illustration are the following: —

Papers presented to the committee appointed to inquire into the state and condition of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and of the trade carried on there (London, 1749); and the committee's *Report* (London, 1749). It is also in the *Reports from Committees, House of Commons*, vol. ii.

Accounts and Papers, vol. xxviii., 1842.[3]

Accounts and Papers, vol. xxxv., 1849.[4]

Accounts and Papers, vol. xxxviii., 1850.[5]

Reports of Committees, vol. xv., 1857.[6]

The last-named volume is wholly filled with a most minute inquiry into the administration of the Bay Company. The volumes by Mr. Martin and Mr. Fitzgerald, referred to further on, may be put in the class of authorities here noticed.[7]

The other class of publications, notices of many of which are to be given, are those of a descriptive or narrative character, as presenting the practical operations of the company as administered by its officers and servants. Many of these volumes contain matters of criticism and complaint against the company, often severe, and as if written under a sense of personal grievances from it, as well as challenging its claims and assumed rights of monopoly. But the principal interest of this class of authorities is that which we look for in works of romantic adventure, scenes in wild life, events of exploration and residence, and the occupations and resources of men encountering perils in lonely travel, in the hunting and trapping expeditions, and the contact and intercommunion of savagery with civilization. As years pass on these volumes will acquire an increasing interest as keeping in remembrance scenes and incidents as well as persons and characters on this continent quite unlike their modern substitutes.

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[1] This is the designation of the charter, and is the form followed in this essay, except where the other usage, Hudson's Bay Company, is quoted or occurs in a title.

[2] It is also given by Dobbs, by Mills (*Boundaries of Ontario*), and others. Cf. *Papers relating to the Hudson's Bay Company's charter and license to trade* (London, 1859); Martin's *Hudson's Bay Territories;* H. H. Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, i. 470, etc.

[3] This contains *Hudson's Bay Company. Copy of the existing charter or grant by the Crown to the Hudson's Bay Company; together with copies or extracts of the correspondence which took place at the last renewal of the charter between the government and the company, or of individuals on behalf of the company; also, the dates of all former charters or grants to that company. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 8 August, 1842* (London, 1842).

[4] *Copies of Memorials of the Red River Settlement, complaining of the government of the Hudson's Bay Company; of instructions given to the Gov.-Gen. of Canada for the investigation of those complaints; of the Reports and Correspondence, ordered to be printed, 13 April, 1849.*

[5] *Papers presented to the House of Commons, in pursuance of an address, that means be taken to ascertain the legality of the powers in respect to territory, trade, taxation, and government, claimed or exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12 July, 1850.*

[6] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, appendix, and Index* (London, 1857). This report is accompanied by three maps: one showing the water-shed of Hudson's Bay (after Arrowsmith) as the territory claimed under the charter; a second denoting the boundaries of the regions occupied by the various Indian tribes north of the Gulf of Mexico; the third shows the country south, west, and north of Hudson's Bay, drawn by Thomas Devine, by order of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Joseph Canchon, Toronto, March, 1857.

[7] [Brymner (*Report on the Dominion Archives*, 1873) gives an account of his examination of the records of the company in London. In *Ibid.* 1883, p. 173, he prints an account of the transactions of the company in 1687. — ED.]

During more recent years many books coming under this class have been written by amateurs from the old world, who, from a love of wild adventure, of hunting, of sharing the Indian mode of life, or a desire to toughen themselves by hardships, have made transient visits to the American wildernesses. Noblemen and gentlemen are conspicuous on the lists, and their narrations are not lacking in the romantic or the marvellous. But far more comprehensive and communicative of authentic and interesting information is a successive series of works beginning with the early enterprises of the Hudson Bay Company, and written mainly by those who have been for long periods in its service, and who have artlessly, and often with graphic power, given to us their own experience. This covers the details of daily life and duty at the company's posts, long tramps on snow-shoes and with dog-sledges over the frozen and snow-piled wilderness, and tortuous courses by lake, river, cascade, and portage, in summer days; the scenes of the camp, and the ways and doings of the Indians. As, in the rapid hurry of the swift years and the swifter rush of occupation and settlement by white men of the region which on the maps of the school-days of our present mature generation was named "The Great American Wilderness," towns and cities and all the concomitants of our artificial life obliterate the original features of nature, the books here referred to will have a retrospective and reconstructive use of the highest historical value. Our noblemen amateur hunters come with all the appliances and luxuries of civilization among their resources in luggage, fire-arms, cans and bottles, largely relieved of the rough and perilous conditions of the primeval scenes.

The historians of the Hudson Bay Company took those scenes as they found them. They were bright, intelligent, and truthful observers and narrators. Generally those who came here as the apprentices of the company were young Scotch peasants from the Orkneys, about seventeen years of age. They passed a close examination, mental, moral, and physical. They received twenty pounds a year, with sustenance. They were sent, on arrival, to the farthest posts, and were expected to devote their lives, with promotion in view, to the service, which many of them did.

The deprivations, hardships, and exposures incident to the mode of life of these young apprentices were in all cases real and severe. The romance attaching to them is rather in the reading about them than in facing them. The perusal of the personal narratives of these hardy and resolute adventurers, who generally wrote their pages in the gloomy scenes of their isolation, and to occupy listless hours, would lead to the inference, conformed to the usual workings of human nature, that the great law of compensatory offsets had full activity there. Many of these Scotch peasant youths were born to a hard and rough lot at home. Only the more manly and self-reliant of them would be likely to seek or to secure the opportunities of a wilderness exile in the service of the great fur company. We know that it was held as a coveted privilege among the adventure-loving and amphibious boys of a Highland nurture. Many of them have confessed the elation of spirits and the bursting sense of self-importance with which they strutted before their comrades when offered a place in the service. The hazardous sea-voyage, the first sight of the dismal inhospitality of the icy straits, the introduction to the scenes and companions of the rugged tasks before them, were at once followed by the demands of severe task-work under novel conditions. A single congenial mate in travel and toil smoothed many a harsh experience, and the free revel of animal spirits gave a zest to perils and hardships.

It is to be frankly admitted that all the young, and with scarcely a single exception the older writers, who have given their experience in the service of the Bay Company, have bitterly complained of its dealings with them as mean and tyrannical.[1]

It does not appear that in any case either the foreign or the local administrators of the affairs of the company concerned themselves with replying to these assaults, or attempted to visit any penalty upon the authors. All its servants, and the youngest of them most rigidly, were held to the sole obligation of advancing the interests of the company in its giant monopoly, and in enabling it to return its fabulous dividends to its stockholders. The two main inspirations for courage, endurance, and business integrity which animated the young apprentice and cheered him in his lonely post were the prospect of promotion, in the method favored though not always pursued by the company, to the coveted positions of chief trader and chief factor, after fifteen, twenty, or more years of service as a clerk, and the crowning of his one hope of being able to return as a man of substance and spend his leisure days in his early home. Of course there was always a fluttering of spirits in these subordinates when the annual council at Norway or York post was making its deal of assignments and positions. The few rather than the many found reason to be content with the unalterable allotments, and there was nothing to be done but to resume the routine of tasks. As to the other alleviation found in the hope and purpose of a homeward return with the rewards of a competency, it is safe to say that in a large majority of cases the intent had weakened and lost its attractions when it might have been realized. The cases, indeed, were exceptional in which those who had lived many years in the service of the Bay Company returned to the old civilized scenes and ways. With the marvellous potency of the needful adaptations and habits of wholly new and strange ways of life in its vigorous period, to substitute a second nature for that in which one was born and early trained, the round of experience and the companionship in the wilderness had a strangely fascinating influence. To endure existence under its necessary conditions, it was essential to make the most and the best of them. And exactly as one became conformed to them there grew upon him a preference for them. The voracious appetite acquired by rough exposure gave to wilderness viands and cookery a quality of luxury. One who was used to having the whole air of heaven to breathe, and the whole hemisphere as a canopy for his couch, whose toilet was of the simplest, and who was wonted to the freedom of the forests and the rivers, gradually lost his fitness and his tolerance for the conventionalities, the fashions, and the appliances of artificial life. Family relationships formed in the wilderness, with partners of pure or mingled blood, while they may have generally been loose and readily disposed of, were not infrequently comfortably and faithfully sustained for life. Occasionally the children of such a parentage were sent to Canada or England for education. In the mean while the long years of forest life which had resulted in this transforming process for the Scotch youth had wrought their changes in the scenes and generations of his early home. He did not care to see it again. When, as we shall note, an agricultural settlement was made within the territory of the company, many of its servants and officers retired with a competency, and found congenial homes where a forest tramp, hunting and fishing expeditions, and converse with successors in their old occupations led them to the natural close of their career.

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[1] "The history of my career may serve as a warning to those who may be disposed to enter the Hudson's Bay Company's service. They may learn that from the moment they embark in the company's canoes at Lachine, or in their ships at Gravesend, they bid adieu to all that civilized man most values on earth. They bid adieu to their family and friends, probably forever; for if they should remain long enough to attain the promotion that allows them the privilege of revisiting their native land — a period of from twenty to twenty-five years — what changes does not this life exhibit in a much shorter time? They bid adieu to all the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, to vegetate at some desolate, solitary post, hundreds of miles, perhaps, from any other human habitation save the wigwam of the savage; without any other society than that of their own thoughts, or of the two or three humble individuals who share their exile. They bid adieu to all the refinement and cultivation of civilized life, not unfrequently becoming semi-barbarians, — so altered in habits and sentiments that they not only become attached to savage life, but eventually lose all relish for any other." (*Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, by John McLean (London, 1849), ii. 260.)

The names given to some of the most distant and dreary of the northern posts of the company, on Mackenzie's River and the Great Slave Lake, seemed to have been intended to keep up the spirits of their occupants. Thus we have "Providence," "Reliance," "Resolution," "Enterprise," "Good Hope," and "Confidence." The narrations of the modes of travel and intercourse by which these and other widely separated posts were reached, their supplies furnished, and the returns gathered from and to the shipping points in the bay, were the first matters of interest for the apprentices, and are given with charming fullness of detail and incident in their journals. The admirable facilities for transit furnished by the water-ways of lake and river were availed of alike by the natives and the Europeans, and were best improved when they were in company. The ascent of a river to the lake from which it flowed, the skirting of that lake till it led to another river which discharged into it, with the interspersion of carrying-places, gave variety to the route.

Conspicuous, and among the earliest of these descriptive books,[1] is Arthur Dobbs's *Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay, in the Northwest Part of America, etc.* (London, 1744),[2] which was written in very earnest support of the probability of a northwest passage, and in advocacy of renewed efforts to search for it. Parliament had offered a reward of £20,000 to whoever might discover it. Mr. Dobbs's work was of importance, because the grievances of which he and his associates in a voyage of discovery complained, and the charges brought by them against the obstructing influence of the Hudson Bay Company, were the grounds of a petition to the Lords in Council, in 1749, against its monopoly. The petitioners insist that the company's charter was either from the first invalid, or is forfeited by the way in which it has been used to obstruct the very objects it was intended to advance. They ask for an incorporation giving them similar rights over the region adjacent to that granted to the company for the purpose of advancing discovery and trade. As has been said in the previous pages, this, like all the other public impeachments of the company, failed of its object.[1] The following extract will show the frankness and force of Mr. Dobbs's charges: —

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[1] [One of our sources for earlier glimpses of the Hudson Bay region are the missionary accounts in such collections as the *Lettres Ecrites des Missions Etrangères* (1650–1750, in 47 vols.). There is a selection in Kip's *Hist. Scenes from the old Jesuit Missions*, and particularly in his *Early Jesuit Missions in North America*. The early geographical history of Hudson's Bay is traced *ante*, Vol. III. On early complaints by the company of French encroachments, see Brymner's *Report on the Dominion Archives*, 1883, extracting from vol. 96 of the *Plantations General* of the Public Record Office in London. — Ed.]

[2] [The title of the book is much longer (cf. Pilling's *Eskimo Bibliog.*, p. 23). The book includes an abstract of the journal of Capt. Christopher Middleton, who commanded the "Furnace," "with observations on his behavior" during this voyage for the discovery of a passage to the South Seas. In these Middleton was charged with a collusion with the Hudson Bay Company to prevent any successful efforts to effect such a discovery. This led to a pamphlet war. Middleton published a *Vindication of his Conduct* (Dublin, 1744), in which he gave his instructions, "with as much of the log journal as relates to the discovery." Dobbs then published *Remarks upon Capt. Middleton's Defence* (London, 1744), in which he says that there is the "highest probability that there is such a passage as he went in search of." Middleton printed *A Reply to the Remarks* (London, 1744), and again *Forgery Detected* (London, 1745). Dobbs responded in *A Reply to Capt. Middleton's Answer to the Remarks* (London, 1745), in which he charges Middleton with laying down false currents, tides, straits, and rivers in his chart and journal to conceal the discovery; and appends a specific answer to his *Forgery Detected*. The captain closed the warfare with a *Rejoinder* (London, 1745). All these titles are given at length in *Carter-Brown*, iii. (in this order), nos. 766, 774, 767, 775, 798, 803, 804.

This old controversy has been summarized in John Barrow's introduction to *The geography of Hudson's Bay: the remarks of William Coats in voyages between 1727 and 1751. With appendix containing the log of Capt. Middleton on his voyage for the discovery of the north-west passage, 1741–2* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852), in which that editor holds that subsequent explorations have proved Middleton's representations to be correct, and that his correspondence preserved at the Admiralty makes clear Middleton's straightforwardness. — Ed.]

"The reason why the manner of living there at present appears to be so dismal to us in Britain is entirely owing to the monopoly and avarice of the Hudson's Bay Company (not to give it a harsher name), who, to deter others from trading there or making settlements, conceal all the advantages to be made in that country, and give out that the climate and country and passage thither are much worse and more dangerous than they really are, and vastly worse than might be, if those seas were more frequented, and proper settlements and improvements were made, and proper situations chosen for that purpose; this they do that they may engross a beneficial trade to themselves, and therefore oblige their captains not to make any charts or journals that may discover those seas or coasts, in order to prevent others from sailing to their factories. They also prevent their servants from giving any account of the climate or countries adjacent, that might be favorable, and induce others to trade and settle there; nor do they encourage their servants, or even allow them, to make any improvements without their factories, unless it be a turnip garden; confining them all the summer season, during the time of the Indian trade, within their factories, lest they should trade by stealth with the natives," etc. (pp. 2 and 3).

Mr. Dobbs makes public many interesting particulars concerning the zeal and prosperity of the French in the fur trade, as far surpassing and encroaching upon those of the company. He derived his information from Joseph la France, "a French Canadese Indian, who for more than thirty years had traversed the region of the lakes, and had tramped to York Fort."[2]

We may appreciate the interest and influence which the monopolizing company could bring to bear in resisting the force of these numerous and severe complaints against it, so far as to retain its charter.

A popular book in its day was Henry Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California, in the years 1746 and 1747, for discovering a Northwest Passage, etc.* (London, 1748). The very intelligent, able, and candid author of this volume was an earnest believer in the existence of and the possibility of opening the way to a northwestern water route through America to India. He tells us that he happened to return to England from Italy only four days before the actual sailing of two vessels, lying in the Thames, which had been provided by a company of subscribers to go on the search. So ardent was his zeal and so strong the interest which he made with the proprietors, that only a few hours before the departure he was allowed to embark in an office of trust and honor. He devotes a hundred pages of his volume to a résumé of the history of all previous voyages in the attempts to find the desired passage. He then gives an admirable sketch from a carefully prepared journal of his own expedition, which, though it failed of its object, did not in the least impair his confidence in it or his belief that it would ultimately be realized. His party, with the two vessels, wintered in Hayes River, near York Fort. It is in connection with this incident that the author, in a spirit of great frankness and with the statement of discreditable facts, though in carefully measured terms and language, arraigns the conduct of the agent of the Hudson Bay Company at the fort for truculency and hostility, as having no interest in, but rather opposing the designs of Mr. Ellis's expedition, notwithstanding its high patronage. He very fairly raises the question, whether the company should retain a charter privilege granted in the interest of discovery, if there is reason for regarding such discovery as hopeless, or if efforts in its behalf are to be withstood. The commander of the fort stoutly opposed the anchoring of the vessels anywhere in proximity. He then tried to compel their lying below the fort, open to the sea, where they would have been knocked to pieces. When he found the officers were determined to anchor in Hayes River, he forbade his Indian servants to furnish them with fresh provisions during their fearful winter sufferings with scurvy.

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[1] Cf. *A short narrative and justification of the Proceedings of the Committee appointed by the adventurers to prosecute the discovery of the passage to the Western Ocean of America, and to open and extend the trade and settle the countries beyond Hudson's Bay, with an apology for their postponing at present their intended application to Parliament* (London, 1749); and *A Short State of the Countries and Trade of North America claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, under pretence of a charter* (London, 1749).

See other tracts named in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, nos. 914–15.

[2] [Dobbs's map is entitled: *A new map of part of North America, including the late discoveries made on board the Furnace Bomb Ketch in 1742, and the western rivers and lakes falling into Nelson's River in Hudson's Bay, as described by Joseph La France, a French Canadese Indian, who traveled through those countries and lakes for three years, from 1737 to 1740.*

It gives a conjectural unknown coast from Cape Blanco (California) to the northwest corner of Hudson's Bay. Cf. on the relations of the French to the fur trade, 1524–1763, H. H. Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, i. 378, 395, 404, 437, 482, 504, 535, 541, 547, 591. — Ed.]

Joseph Robson, who had been surveyor and supervisor of the buildings of the company, offered a very severe arraignment of its narrow measures and selfishness in an *Account of Six Years' Residence in Hudson's Bay, from 1733 to 1736 and 1744 to 1747, containing a variety of Facts, Observations, and Discoveries, etc.* (London, 1752).[1] The author shows that positive obstructions, bugbears, and prohibitions were used to prevent all efforts for penetrating into the country and using the facilities of the waterways. He himself made such efforts, notwithstanding strong opposition. He addresses himself to the Earl of Halifax, of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, urging the vast importance to Great Britain of breaking a rigid monopoly, and of offering national encouragement in laying open the trade to rich territories and keeping them out of the hands of the French. He reminds the earl that, in view of these vast interests, a petition had gone to Parliament in 1749 from the chief trading cities and towns in Great Britain against the company's charter. He himself was one of those who were called to give testimony in the hearing. The company brought in defence only garbled extracts from documents and papers. He says the French have won great prizes from the sluggishness of the company. "The company have for eighty years slept at the edge of a frozen sea: they have shown no curiosity to penetrate farther themselves, and have exerted all their art and power to crush that spirit in others." They have prevented all friendly intercourse with the natives, and the acquisition of their language. They have discouraged all use of the rich fisheries, all mining enterprises, and all projects for settling colonies. The annual export is of less than £5,000, in but three or four vessels, under two hundred tons each. Four small factories and two small houses, served by one hundred and fifty men, stand at the mouths of frozen rivers, with temperate and fruitful countries, south of them, neglected. The Indians are left in the rudest barbarity. In an appendix to the volume is an account of the discovery of the bay and the proceedings of the British there.

It was in 1769–1772 that Samuel Hearne made his explorations for the company, but his narrative was not published till twenty years later, as a *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795; Dublin, 1796); and then, by its denial of any motive and act of the company to check exploration, it served as an offset to the most severe criticism which came from any one who had been in the company's service, and which appears in Edward Umfreville's *Present State of Hudson's Bay, containing a full description of that settlement, etc.* (London, 1790). He had been for eleven years in the company's service and for four years in the Canada fur trade, and he finds grounds in his own observation and experience for grave censures upon it. Yet he does not write as from personal vindictiveness or with any asperity. He addresses himself to the mer-

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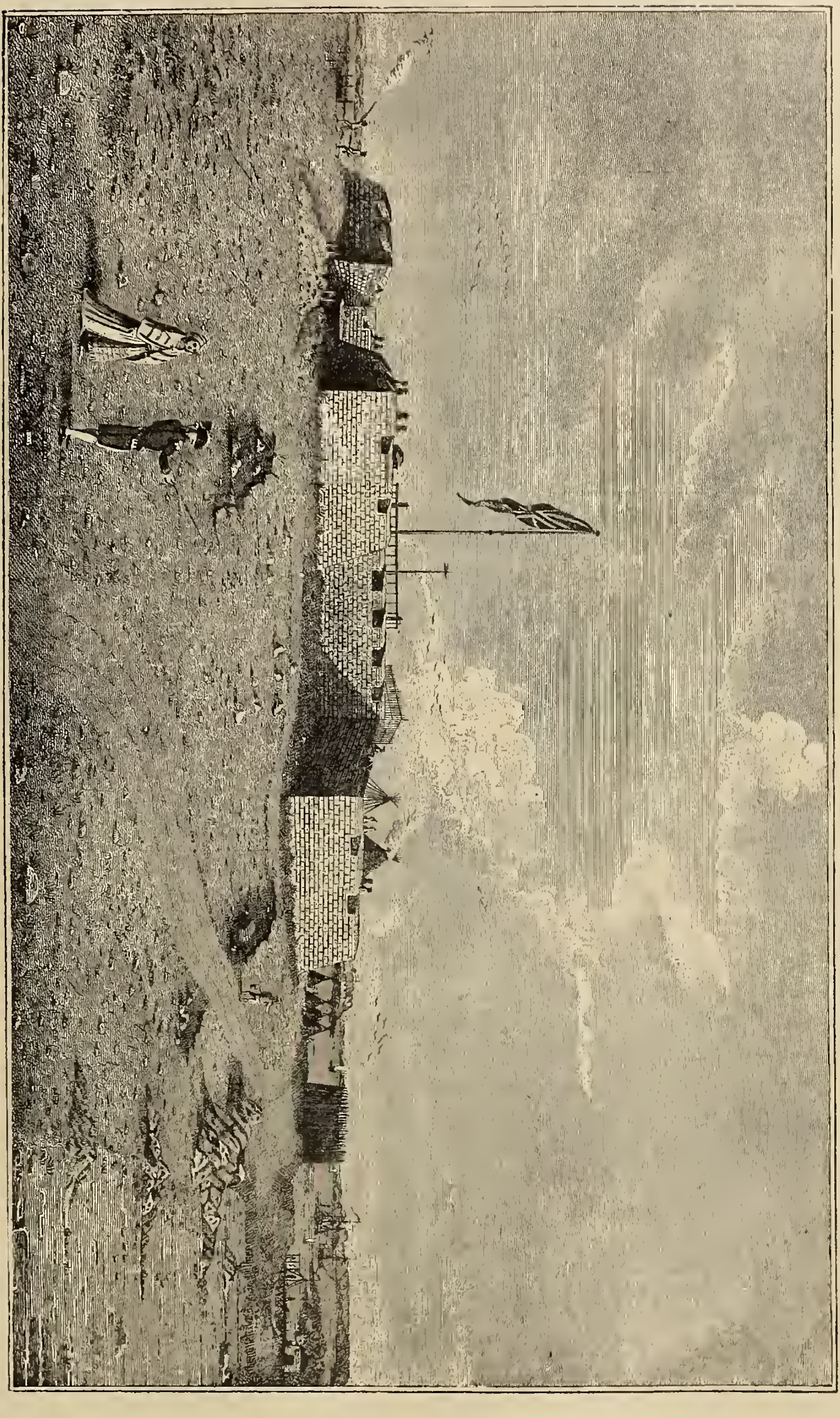
[1] *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. no. 986.



PRINCE OF WALES FORT.

chants, traders, and manufacturers of Great Britain, to expose to them the loss and injury suffered by the country by the management of a selfish and greedy monopoly. He refers to the skilful ingenuity of the company in repressing the investigation of its affairs and averting the annihilation of its charter, for which Arthur Dobbs and other gentlemen had petitioned the House of Commons in 1749. The writer entered the service of the company as a clerk, on a salary of fifteen pounds, in 1771, and continued in it for eleven years. When La Perouse captured the two principal forts in 1782, he was made a prisoner, and afterwards left the service of the company on a disagreement about salary. For the four following years he was engaged in the Canada fur trade under a rival company, the greater shrewdness and prosperity of which he emphasizes. The Bay Company, he says, might offer profitable employment to idle British laborers and seamen. It confines itself to a dismal coast, instead of penetrating a far more attractive interior. It employs only three vessels, whose whole burden is not six hundred tons, with seventy-five mariners. It has but two hundred and forty resident employees. It artfully represents the country as harsh and inhospitable. It has diminished the number of natives and debased them by intoxicating liquor.[1] He admits that the first traders acted humanely under instructions from the company for the considerate treatment of the Indians, but since then the greed of trade has overcome all other motives.[2] In 1749 the stock of the company, swollen from the original capital of £10,500, represented £103,950. Of the one hundred proprietors, seventeen were women, by inheritance.

Umfreville was present at the surrender of forts Churchill and York to La Perouse in 1782, and probably furnished to the *London Morning Chronicle* for April of the next year the account of the transactions which he copies in his volume. After the cession of Canada, its residents, becoming British subjects, asserted their rights of trade against the monopoly of the company, and an intense rivalry began. The Canadian partners had a thousand men in their employ, and sent annually forty large laden canoes into the Indian country, where the Bay Company might have anticipated them. It was not till more than a century after the date of its charter that the company struck into the interior. The Canadian traders were rough, unscrupulous, and demoralized. The servants of the company were far superior in character to the half-breed voyageurs.

This rival Northwest Company of Canada in its turn recognized the demand for exploration in sending Alexander Mackenzie on his two tours of observation, the experiences of which are recounted in his *Voyage from Montreal to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, 1789–1793* (London, 1801; Philadelphia, 1802; New York, 1814), a synopsis of which is given by Bancroft.[3]

In the *Narrative of a Voyage to Hudson's Bay in his Majesty's Ship Rosamond, etc., by Lieut. Edward Chappell, R. N.* (London, 1817), we have the record[4] of an officer on a British government ship which convoyed two vessels of the Hudson Bay Company to York factory, during the war, in 1814. He was young, but a quick and intelligent observer. In his journal he gives much curious information concerning the Eskimos. He describes the six coast and river forts of the company at the time, namely, Churchill, York, Severn, Moose, Albany, East Main, beside Richmond, a minor establishment. He comments sharply on the illiberal policy of the company in shrouding its affairs in darkness, and discouraging all enterprises of exploration and the fisheries. It holds in secrecy, he affirms, all the knowledge it obtains about the navigation of the northern seas, and has even supplied the Admiralty with an incorrect chart. The fort at Churchill, which had been partially reconstructed after its destruction by La Perouse in 1782, was again ruined by a conflagration in November, 1813. The occupants, at the peril of their lives, saved seventy-three chests of gunpowder. All else was destroyed, causing intense suffering by exposure and famine to the houseless victims, the thermometer being seventy-eight degrees below the freezing-point.[1]

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[1] [See references on this point in H. H. Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, i. 547. — Ed.]

[2] [A comparison of the methods of treatment of the natives as pursued by the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company is made in *Ibid.* i. ch. 17. — Ed.]

[3] *Northwest Coast*, i. ch. 21.

[4] Edited by Edward Daniel Clarke.

In the hearing of evidence before the parliamentary committee in 1857, concerning charges alleged against the Hudson Bay Company, some of the witnesses testified that John Dunn had written his *Oregon Territory and the British North American fur trade* (London, 1844; Philadelphia, 1845) with a view to defending and eulogizing the company. His book, certainly, in its general tone and pleading, and its selection of points for emphatic statement, seems to justify that charge. He was articled as an apprentice in the service of the company, and placed for a year as assistant storekeeper in Fort Vancouver. He was then sent as travelling, trading, and exploring agent, and acted as interpreter, and having assisted in establishing several new posts, was put in charge of Fort George, near the mouth of the Columbia. Returning after eight years to England, he communicated to the *Times* and other journals, in 1843, papers bearing upon the Oregon question between the United States and Britain. He assumes that he presents impartially the respective claims, and the grounds of them, of the two countries. But he is bitterly contemptuous to the United States, charging it with cunning and duplicity, and representing its citizens, and even American missionaries, as laying artful plans to secure possession of territory really belonging to Britain. Incidentally, Mr. Dunn gives much information concerning the operations of the Bay Company, and the condition of several Indian tribes.

The Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic Discoverer (London, 1845) was written by Alexander Simpson, as a tribute of affection for a brother, a man of a noble, lovable, and heroic character, who midway in a great career came to a melancholy death, in his thirty-second year. The book is written in a spirit of wounded feeling and sharp censoriousness. The brothers were both in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company. Sir George Simpson, the local governor, was an illegitimate son of their mother's brother. From this relative, their superior in office, the brothers do not appear to have received any kindly consideration in their treatment, still less any favor. They both regarded him as selfish, jealous, and capable of duplicity. Thomas Simpson made two hazardous tours of exploration, and thought that he had discovered the long-desired passage between the western and the eastern oceans. His account of his travels — the manuscript, as his brother charges, having been jealously concealed and tampered with — was not published till 1843, three years after his death.[2] The government had assigned to him a pension of £100. His brother sought, four years after Thomas's death, to secure this for the heirs. But though he solicited Sir Robert Peel, and engaged on his side the good offices of the explorer Barrows, he did not succeed in his effort. The reason for the denial was that Thomas Simpson was not in the employ of the government, but in that of the Hudson Bay Company. This company made no reply to the brother's request for aid.

In order to promote the petition of the Hudson Bay Company for the planting of a colony under its auspices and control in Vancouver's Island, R. M. Martin published his *Hudson Bay Territories and Vancouver's Island, with an exposition of the chartered rights, conduct, and policy of the Hon^{ble} Hudson's Bay Corporation* (London, 1849), dedicating it to an advocate of the scheme, Earl Gray, the colonial secretary. Many of Martin's statements were at once challenged as incorrect, and written under a bias. He describes the territories under the control of the company, gives details of its constitution and working, stoutly maintains its good management and efficiency, and argues for its special fitness and qualifications to lead and manage the proposed colony. He also presents statements of the numbers, character, and treatment by the company of the aboriginal tribes. The volume contains a copy of the draft charter for the colony, which was essentially modified before its passage.

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[1] Thomas McKeevor's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay during the summer of 1812* (London, 1819, — being a part of vol. ii. of *New Voyages and Travels*, London).

[2] *Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coasts of America, effected by the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1836–1839* (London, 1843).

The sentiment of opposition to this Vancouver scheme of the company was vigorously expressed in *An Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, with reference to the Grant of Vancouver's Island. By James Edward Fitzgerald* (London, 1849). The quotation from Tacitus on the title-page, of "*Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*," indicates the severity of the author's judgment against the policy and influence of the monopolizing company. The work is dedicated to Mr. Gladstone. When the proposition for this additional charter was before Parliament, Mr. Gladstone opposed it in a very able speech, arraigning the course of the company. Mr. Fitzgerald writes earnestly and ably in the same spirit of opposition, with much severity of criticism, exposure, and censure of the company. He addresses himself in the main to controverting the book by Mr. R. M. Martin, which he regards as of a "palpably official character" in the interest of the company, wrought from documents furnished by it and obtained from the government. He argues against the validity of the charter, exposes the selfishness and greed of the company acting under it, as it had failed of its main pretences of exploring the country and improving the condition of the Indians, and traces the injurious influence and results of its spirit and operations upon the interests of the mother country, upon the native Indian population, and upon those who have attempted to plant colonies under it. The work is candid and well authenticated in its statements, and had a damaging effect upon the company.

John McLean, in his *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (London, 1849), writes frankly and in guarded terms, and is one of that class who, in relating their own experience as servants of the Bay Company, pass a very severe judgment upon its policy and its treatment of those who are in its service in the most arduous though most humble posts of duty. The writer entered upon that service in 1820, just before the coalition with the Northwest Company, so that he had to contend in his place with opposition from it, as also afterwards with individual free-traders. He served at posts most widely separated in distance, as in New Caledonia and in Labrador, as well as in many intermediate ones. His journeys to and fro involved hair-breadth perils with sharp deprivations. The writer, by printing the full evidence of it, makes it plain that Governor Simpson, influenced by favoritism, broke faith with him when, by full service, he was entitled to promotion, and drove him to retire in disgust. Here is his frank statement: —

"This last act of the governor made me completely disgusted with a service where such acts would be tolerated. In no colony subject to the British crown is there to be found an authority so despotic as is at this day exercised in the mercantile colony of Rupert's Land: an authority combining the despotism of military rule with the strict surveillance and mean parsimony of the avaricious trader. From Labrador to Nootka Sound, the unchecked, uncontrolled will of a single individual gives law to the land. As to the nominal council which is yearly convoked for form's sake, the few individuals who compose it know better than to offer advice where none would be accepted; they know full well that the governor has already determined on his own measures before one of them appears in his presence. Their assent is all that is expected of them, and that they never hesitate to give." (Vol. ii. 235.)

We find in John Ryerson's *Hudson's Bay: or a Missionary Tour in the Territory of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto, 1855) a body of letters written by a Wesleyan missionary in his visits (1854–55) to some of the stations under the support of his religious organization. The writer has but little to say about any important results reached by religious efforts among the natives, but he finds satisfaction in some gleams of hope from the efforts of faithful laborers.[1] He gives incidentally fragments of interesting information of the operations of the Bay Company, from whose officers and servants he received courtesy and hospitality. His route was wholly by the watercourses. He sets down minute details of distances, portages, camping-places, and the incidents of travel, of life at the posts which he visited, and of the efforts of garden and field culture. He speaks kindly of the company, its methods and conduct.

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[1] Cf. *Journal of Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary, from Rice Lake to the Hudson's Bay territory. Commencing May, 1852. With a brief account of his life, and a short History of the Wesleyan Mission in that country* (New York, 1857).

The history of Lord Selkirk's settlement down to 1852 is covered in Alexander Ross's *The Red River Settlement: its Rise, Progress, and present State. With some account of the Native Races and its general history to the present day* (London, 1856). The writer was at an early age in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company at a post deep in the wilderness, and after many years of service took up his residence in the settlement where he has held prominent and honored positions, highly respected and confided in. Most intelligently and impartially does he trace the history and development of the colony from its troubled and distracted beginnings to the comparative prosperity which it reached. It had not, however, come to the end, either of its internal or its external conflicts, when he closed his work. With some few exceptional strictures, he in general terms approves the policy and conduct of the Bay Company. While expressing his belief that Mr. Isbister, in his sharp controversy with the company, was betrayed by the unfounded representations of his countrymen, he speaks in the highest terms of respect of that gentleman for his personal excellence and humanity. Very full, interesting, and trustworthy accounts are given in the volume of the good and the ill conditions mixed in the settlement; its resources and prospects; of its agricultural and social life; of the native tribes around it, and of the stirring hunting expeditions.[1] Especially sagacious and practical are the views of the author about the contentions of religious sects and the necessity that civilization should precede "conversion."

Of Robert Michael Ballantyne's sprightly and entertaining *Hudson's Bay: or every-day life in the Wilds of North America, during six years' residence in the Territories of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 3d ed., 1857) there have been repeated editions. The writer describes himself to have been in his Highland home in 1841, when he was thrilled with joy on his appointment as an apprentice clerk in the service of the Hudson Bay Company. Robust and vigorous in constitution and animated in spirits, he entered with full zest into the conditions and duties of his office, with its tasks and hardships, and found full enjoyment in its rude relaxations. Making many long journeys by boats in the open season and with dog-sledges in the winter, he describes with minuteness of detail all the methods of travel, the smooth and the rough passages, the toil over the portages, the shooting of rapids, the trailing or dragging of boats up cascades by cheery voyageurs having but a slippery footing on precipitous banks; the coming in to the posts of the wild bands of boisterous Indians, their women, children, and dogs, with furs and hides, and the opening riot of intoxication, the method of trade, the giving forth of supplies, and the return of quiet; the gay scenes of half-breed life, the dance and the wedding. On his homeward way the writer went by Lake Superior and the old Canadian posts to Quebec and Tadousac, a journey of many hardships and romantic incidents.[2]

Mr. Joseph James Hargrave was evidently an intelligent observer and candid reporter of matters which came under his own knowledge during his seven years' residence in the Dominion province now called Manitoba. He traces in his *Red River* (Montreal, 1871) the history of the Red River settlement from its origin under Lord Selkirk, and gives a sufficiently full statement of the disasters, sufferings, and finally the limited prosperity which it had reached at the time of his visit. It will be remembered that the settlement was the scene of the sharpest rivalry and contests, involving a great loss of life, between the opposing parties of the Hudson Bay and the Northwest Companies. Notwithstanding its chartered privileges and its position and resources on the spot, the Bay Company was the loser in that strife. The period of Mr. Hargrave's residence was between 1861 and 1869. The volume will always be of high historical value, because it so faithfully describes and comments upon scenes and occurrences which have so rapidly changed on the panorama of the past. The community which he portrays was a strangely heterogeneous one, bringing together people of many nationalities, of various mixtures of blood, and many of whom appeared during the year in the three characters of farmers, fishermen, and hunters.

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[1] Cf. also his *Fur Hunters of the Far West* (London, 1855).

[2] As illustrating other adventures of this period, cf. Archibald McDonald's *Peace River, a canoe voyage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific* (Ottawa, 1872), and the publication by Viscount Milton and Dr. Wm. B. Cheadle, called *The Northwest Passage by Land. Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (London, 1865). The route followed was down the Red River to Fort Garry, hence through British Columbia. The writers both wield a ready and lively pen, sketching many striking scenes, with incidents of perilous adventure, strange companionships, hunting expeditions, and camp-life.

In 1873, the investigation over the bounds of the province of Ontario led to two treatises, both of which are retrospective in their historical bearing. In David Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1873), the second part is given to a historical summary of the French and English contests for the possession of Hudson's Bay from 1670 to the treaty of Utrecht; while a sketch of the early rivalry of the French and English in securing the fur trade is found in Charles Lindsey's *Investigations of the unsettled Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1873).[1]

In *The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the Northwest of America* (London, 1873), Captain W. F. Butler relates the occasion of his first range of distant travel in the Northwest. His errand into the country was induced by an official connection with the military expedition which went from Canada to suppress the revolt of the French half-breeds, under the "Dictator" Louis Riel, in 1869–1870, when the Red River settlement was made over from the control of the Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada. He passed through the United States, and anticipated for several months the arrival of the military force which came by the old Canadian route. He himself had some stirring adventures. Being on the spot, a keen, intelligent, and impartial observer, he gives us a most graphic account of the revolt, which threatened to be very serious in its origin and progress, but which ended in an absurd and inglorious discomfiture. Intending to return after this affair, he found himself invested with some judicial functions and the power of conferring them on others. He was thus led to make an expedition through the Saskatchewan Valley all the way to the company's post at the Mountain House, meeting with all the wild experiences of free adventure. He was an intrepid traveller, heroic and enduring, and his pages are vigorously written. He received the hospitalities of the company's officers and posts, and he passes no strictures on its policy. He traversed regions in which the natives had been wellnigh extirpated by an appalling visitation of the smallpox, which had also been severe in its ravages at some of the posts. He took with him large supplies of medical stores and directions for treating the disease. He is an ardent champion of the native qualities and the rights of the red man in his ever-ruinous contact with the whites.

A year later, Captain Butler, in his *Wild North Land, being the story of a winter journey with dogs across northern North America* (London, 1874), gives a delightful and instructive narrative of another expedition in the wilderness. This was wholly of a private nature, and was prompted by the spirit of adventure, made more exciting by its previous indulgence. His wanderings this time were principally on foot. He started from the Red River in the autumn of 1872, and in March following reached Lake Athabasca. Then he followed the winding Peace River to the Rocky Mountains, and through the north of British Columbia and New Caledonia, coming out on Fraser's River in June. His transient stops at the posts of the Bay Company, his sketches of the articles in which it trafficked, and his account of the wonderful mail-carriage in its semi-annual expeditions, furnish many lively and entertaining sketches.

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[1] Cf. *Statutes, documents, and papers bearing on the discussion respecting the northern and western boundaries of Ontario, including the principal evidence supposed to be for or against the Province* (Toronto, 1878). *Correspondence, papers, and documents, 1856–1882, relating to the northerly and westerly boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1882).

The Earl of Southesk was substantially the guest of the Bay Company in 1859 and 1860, when he made the journey described in his *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains, A Diary and Narrative of Travel, Sport, and Adventure, during a Journey through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories* (Edinburgh, 1875). He had been promised its aid and furtherance as an inducement to his trip, and he received from it all needed help. As the title of the book shows, he was an amateur explorer and huntsman, with the spirit of free adventure. He describes with vividness and geniality the incidents of travel and the camp, and adds many interesting facts about the natural history of the region, its wild animals and the natives, giving us many sketches from his own pencil.[1]

We find quite as much a summary of existing knowledge as of personal observation and experience in H. M. Robinson's *Great Fur Land, or Sketches of Life in the Hudson's Bay Territory. With numerous Illustrations from Designs by Charles Gasche* (New York, 1879). The book is written with much vivacity, and will have a charming interest for readers who seek for romantic narrative and sketches of wild life. He gives us very full particulars about the more recent operations and government of the Hudson Bay Company, without any reflections on its policy or administration, generally commending it for fairness and for wise and kindly dealing with the Indians. He presents with great vividness the scenes and conditions of life; the characters and habits of red men, white men, half-breeds, voyageurs, hunters, and traders; the modes of travelling by canoe or dog-sledges; life in the company's posts in summer and winter; the hunting expeditions; methods of trapping; accounts of the fur trade; a winter camp; the gayeties of wild festive scenes among the half-breeds; the mode in which traffic is carried on, and some statistics of the peltries.

George E. Ellis.

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[1] The reader may note some incongruity in the contents of the volume, as he finds in the appendix much miscellaneous matter on which the writer employed his mind in intervals of rest. For example, we have remarks on "The Winter's Tale," "Hamlet," "Macbeth," "Merchant of Venice," "Othello," "Comments on a Sermon," "Reflections on Patience and God's Providence," "Comments on Bunsen's Hippolytus," etc.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The official and personal writings which have thus been surveyed involve, of course, the details of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company. Synoptical surveys of this history, with the extension of their field through the Indian territory and to the Pacific, will be found in H. H. Bancroft's *Northwest Coast* (ch. 14, etc.), and in Barrows's *Oregon* (ch. 6 and 12), where are particularly contrasted the opposing systems of settlement and of the trade for furs as brought into rivalry, to the advantage of the former in the saving of Oregon to the American Union (see *ante*, Vol. VII.). Bancroft gives a separate chapter (ch. 15) to collating the evidence about "Forts and Fort Life." All general histories of Canada and of Arctic exploration necessarily touch the subject. The best bibliography of the company's history can be picked out of the list of publications prefixed by Bancroft to his *Northwest Coast.* Some of the less important ones are grouped together in his vol. i. p. 457. Cf. also the section on Hudson's Bay in Chavanne's *Literatur über die Polar-Regionen* (Vienna, 1874). The bibliography of the explorations in the Northwest may be primarily followed in Bryce's paper on "Journeys in Rupert's Land," in the *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada*, 1886. The mass of periodical literature can be gleaned through *Poole's Index*, p. 611, and *Supplement*, — the best condensation of the history being found perhaps in the *Westminster Review* (July, 1867), on "The last great monopoly."[1] There is an enumeration of the typical maps of the Hudson Bay region in Winsor's *Kohl Collection of Maps*, section iv.

No. 6 of the *Papers* of the Manitoba Hist. Soc. is devoted to the sources of the history of the Canadian Northwest. As regards the respective rights of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies to the trade of the Winnipeg country, the question turned upon the validity of the parliamentary grant to the Hudson's Bay Company for an extension of their trade westerly of Rupert's Land, as against the rights inherited, or assumed by the Canadians as accruing by the accession of the rights of France, through exploration, before the cession of the country and its advantages to England by the Peace of Paris (1763). But the Hudson's Bay Company also claimed to have preceded the French in this region, by sending through it a young explorer, Henry Kelsey, in 1690.[2] Vérandrye's explorations in 1731–49 were the earliest for the French (see references, *ante*, Vol. V. 567–8). La Franche first explored the route between Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay, 1738–42. For a summary of overland explorations from 1640 to 1786, see ch. 19 of Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, vol. i. The *London Mag.* in 1761 gave a map of the straits of St. Mary and Michillimackinac to show the situation and importance of the two westernmost settlements of Canada for the fur trade.

The history of the North West Company, formed at Montreal in 1787 by uniting various trading interests, can be followed in *The origin and progress of the Northwest Company of Canada, with a history of the fur trade, as connected with that concern* (London, 1811). Up to this time the main features of their career had been their occupation of the Red River district in 1788; the explorations of Mackenzie in their interest in 1789; the secession of the X Y Company in 1796; its reunion with the parent body in 1804; the contract with the Astor people in 1810; their building their first fort on the Columbia in 1811. They bought out the Astoria post in 1813. The book just cited has a map exhibiting the principal trading stations of the Northwest Company; and another map, showing these stations, with the routes of the traders from Fort William,[3] on Lake Superior, is given in Alexander M'Donell's *Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country* (London, 1819). The issue between the rival companies came with the grant to the Earl of Selkirk, by the Hudson's Bay Company, of a tract in this Winnipeg region. Before applying to the Bay Company, Selkirk got the opinion of Romilly and others that the company was competent to make such a grant (Bryce's *Manitoba*, 147; Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 404; *House of Commons' Report*, 323). The map in M'Donell's *Narrative* shows the extent of this territorial grant, as was claimed. Selkirk by this time had become a large owner of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Of the conflict which ensued between the servants of the two companies, on the part of the Northwest Company to expel the Selkirk colonists, and on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to protect them, we have a good account of a looker-on in Ross Cox's *Adventures on the Columbia River* (London, 1831; New York, 1832); but the trials which followed in the Canadian courts give us the conflict of testimony: *Report of the Proceedings connected with the disputes between the Earl of Selkirk and the Northwest Company at the Assizes held at York, in Upper Canada, October, 1818. From minutes taken in Court* (Montreal, 1819; reprinted, London, 1819).

Report of trials in the Courts of Canada relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement on the Red River, with observations. By A[ndrew] Amos (London, 1820). This is accompanied by a map of the Red River settlement as it was in 1816.

The publications of this period are hardly impartial. They espouse one side or the other. What may be considered the official representation of the Northwest Company is *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries of North America since the connection of the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay Company, and his attempt to establish a colony on the Red River; with a detailed account of his Lordship's military expedition to, and subsequent proceedings at, Fort William* (London, 1817).[4]

The protest on Selkirk's part can be found in his *Sketch of the British fur trade in North America; with observations relative to the Northwest Company of Montreal* (London, J. Ridgeway, 1816), which originally appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, October, 1816; and in the publication in his interest, compiled by John Halkett, and called a *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon the Red River; its destruction in 1815 and 1816; with observations upon a recent publication entitled "A narrative of occurrences in the Indian Countries,"* etc. (London, 1817). It is accompanied by a map by Arrowsmith, showing the Winnipeg country.[5] The letter book of Captain Miles Macdonell at the Selkirk Settlement, 1811–12, is given in Brymner's *Report on the Canadian Archives, 1886.*

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[1] Cf. also *Canadian Monthly* (v. 273); *Cornhill Mag.* (xxii. 159); "La traite au Nord-ouest et quelques notes sur la compagnie de la Baie Hudson, par L. A. Prud'homme," in the *Revue Canadienne* (Jan., 1887, p. 16); and Emile Petitot on "The Athabasca District," with a map, in the *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.* (Nov., 1883).

[2] Bryce's *Manitoba*; Manitoba Hist. Soc. *Papers*, no. 4.

[3] We have a picture of life at Fort William, the Northwester's principal post, in Ross Cox's *Columbia River*, and particularly in Gabriel Franchère's *Voyage à la Côte Nord-ouest de l'Amerique Septentrionale pendant les années 1810–1814* (Montreal, 1820), of which there is an English translation by J. V. Huntington (New York, 1854). He had been one of the Astor expedition, and his natural story was much in Irving's mind, apparently, when he wrote his *Astoria.*

[4] Cf. John Strachan's *Letter to the Earl of Selkirk on his settlement at the Red River, near Hudson's Bay* (London, 1816), and Alexander M'Donell's *Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country from the Commencement of the Operations of the Earl of Selkirk till the summer of the year 1816* (London, 1819).

[5] Cf. also Arrowsmith's *Map exhibiting the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America, inscribed by permission to the Hon. Company of Adventurers of England trading in Hudson's Bay* (London, 1798–1811).

After Selkirk returned to England, in 1818, a motion was made in the House of Commons for all the official papers in the recent troubles, and in 1819 they were printed.

Selkirk died in 1820, and the next year the two companies were united, preserving only the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Sir George Simpson became governor. This story is told at length in Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, ii. ch. 15.

John West's *Substance of a journal during the residence at the Red River Country and frequent excursion among the Northwest American Indians, 1820–1823* (London, 1824), and Keating's *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's Lake (Lake Winnepeek) in 1823* (London, 1825), become now of interest.

The later writers are variously inclined in their sympathies. Alexander Ross's *Red River Settlement, its rise, progress, and present state, with some account of the native races and its general history to the present day, by Alexander Ross* (London, 1856), is on the side of the elder company; and the same position is temperately sustained in George Bryce's *Manitoba, its infancy, growth, and present condition* (London, 1882).[1] The story of the Red River events, as well as the subsequent career of both companies after their enforced union, is sufficiently told, and with a good many helpful references, in Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, with the aid of some manuscript accounts, as well as of the great mass of printed material. The story of the Northwest Coast is further continued by Bancroft in his *Oregon* and in his *British Columbia.*

The question of commercial intercourse with the Winnipeg country led to an exploration of the country between Lake Superior and the Red River settlement, of which a *Report*[2] was published, with a *Map of a part of the valley of Red River, north of the 49th parallel, to accompany a Report on the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition, by H. Y. Hind.* Of late years it has become a debatable question whether the route from Europe through Hudson's Bay may not be made commercially serviceable through a considerable part of the year. (Cf. Robert Bell's "Commercial Importance of Hudson's Bay" in the *Roy. Geog. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1881, with a map; W. Skelford in the *National Rev.*, London, vii. 541; C. R. Tuttle's *Our North Land* (Toronto, 1885), ch. 28; *Science*, vii. 278; Charles N. Bell's *Northern Waters*, Winnipeg, 1885; and some papers published by the Manitoba Historical Society: no. 1, Navigation of Hudson's Bay; no. 2, The Hudson's Bay Route.) The rebellions in the Red River region, which followed upon the creation of the Province of Manitoba, fall on a later period than this volume is intended to embrace, but the sources of their history involve the results of the final extinction of the Hudson's Bay Company as a great monopoly.[3]

An account of the fur trade along the Pacific is the essential body of Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, which is of use in tracing the transactions of the Hudson Bay Company in those regions, with its abundant references. He says in his preface: —

"During the summer of 1878 I made an extended tour in this territory for the purpose of adding to my material for its history. Some printed matter I found, not before in my possession. I was fortunate enough to secure copies of the letters of Simon Fraser, and the original journals of Fraser and John Stuart; also copies from the originals of the journals of John Work and W. F. Tolmie, the private papers of John McLoughlin, and a manuscript History of the Northwest Coast by A. C. Anderson. Through the kindness of Mr. John Charles, at the time chief of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific coast, I was given access to the archives of the fur company gathered at Victoria, and was permitted to make copies of important fort journals, notably those of Fort Langley and Fort Simpson. But most important of all were the historical and biographical dictations taken from the lips of several hundred of pioneers and earliest fur-hunters and settlers then living, by a short-hand reporter who accompanied me in my travels, and which were afterward written out, severally bound, and used in the usual way as material for history.

"It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of this information, given as it was by actors in the scenes represented, many of whom have since departed this life, and all of whom will soon be gone. To no small extent it is early historical knowledge absolutely rescued from oblivion, and which, if lost, no power on earth could reproduce. Conspicuous among those who thus bear testimony are Mrs. Harvey, who gave me a biographical sketch of her father, Chief Factor McLoughlin; John Tod, chief for a time of New Caledonia; Archibald McKinlay, in charge of Fort Walla-Walla at the time of the Whitman massacre; Roderick Finlayson, once in charge of Fort Victoria; A. C. Anderson, road-maker, explorer, and historian."

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[1] He gives a list of his authorities. Cf. Donald Gunn's *Hist. of Manitoba to 1835, with a continuation to its admission to the Dominion by C. R. Tuttle* (Ottawa, 1880); Alexander Begg's *Creation of Manitoba and the history of the Red River Troubles* (Toronto, 1871); and John Macoun's *Manitoba and the Great Northwest* (1883).

[2] Henry Youle Hind's *Northwest Territory. Reports of progress; with a preliminary and general report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploring expedition, made under instructions from the provincial secretary, Canada. Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly* (Toronto, 1859); and the same author's *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, and of the Assiniboine and Saskatawan Expedition of 1858* (London, 1860).

[3] Cf. Alexander J. Russell's *Red River Country, Hudson's Bay and Northwest Territories considered in relation to Canada* (Ottawa, 1869; Montreal, 1870).

Red River Insurrection; Hon. Wm. McDougall's Conduct Reviewed (anon.).

The Red River Insurrection Reviewed; letters to Hon. Jos. Howe by Wm. McDougall (Toronto, 1870).

Alexander Begg's *Creation of Manitoba, or a history of the Red River Troubles* (Toronto, 1871).

Capt. Geo. Lightfoot Huyshe's *Red River Expedition* (London, 1871).

S. J. Dawson's *Report on the Red River Expedition of 1870, printed by order of the House of Commons. Reprint, with remarks on certain strictures published in England by an officer of the expeditionary force* (Ottawa, 1871).

Report of the Select Committee on the Causes of the difficulties in the Northwest Territory in 1869–70 (Ottawa, 1874).

The English official record of the occupancy of Vancouver's Island is given in the *Charter of Grant of Vancouver's Island to the Hudson's Bay Company, and correspondence*, and the *Report on the Grant from the Com. of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations* (1849); and in James Edward Fitzgerald's *Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company with reference to Vancouver Island* (London, 1849).

The rivalries of the English and American traders are necessarily set forth by Bancroft.[1]

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[1] Bancroft's treatment of the Astoria enterprise is held to have a touch of spleen in it, by P. Koch in his paper on "Astoria and the Pacific Fur Trade," in the *Magazine of American History*, March, 1885, p. 289. Cf. Wm. Sturgis on the Northwest Fur Trade in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, xiv.

CHAPTER II.

ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH,

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FOR two centuries after the unsuccessful voyages of Luke Fox and Thomas James, mentioned in an earlier chapter of this *History*,[1] little interest was felt in the search for a northwest passage. The more important of the Arctic explorations in this period were carried on overland, under the auspices, in whole or in part, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and are described in another chapter.[2] Meanwhile, however, in 1746, two small vessels were sent from England to make further discoveries in Hudson's Bay. These were the "Dobbs Galley," of one hundred and eighty tons, commanded by Captain William Moor, and the "California," of one hundred and forty tons, under Captain Francis Smith. They sailed from the Thames on the 20th of May. Their progress was slow, and they were able to go only a short distance up Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome before the lateness of the season compelled the captains to make arrangements for winter-quarters. For this purpose a small creek was selected, about two miles from Fort York, the principal station of the Hudson's Bay Company. Here the crews built log huts on the shore, and remained from November until June, when the vessels were released from the ice. Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, Wager Strait, and the entrance to what is now known as Repulse Bay, were then explored ; but differences of opinion among the officers led to an early abandonment of the undertaking, and by the middle of August both vessels made sail for England. They anchored at Yarmouth on the 14th of October, 1747, — having been gone nearly a year and a half, — and entirely disappointed the large hopes and expectations awakened by their departure.

A few years later an attempt was made by the British colonies in America to discover a northwest passage ; and in the spring of 1753 a schooner of about sixty tons was fitted out in Philadelphia for this purpose, mainly through the exertions of Dr. Franklin. This schooner was called the "Argo," and was commanded by Captain Charles Swaine. Sailing in March, she encountered ice off Cape Farewell, but finally succeeded in entering Hudson's Strait in the latter part of June. Here the accumulation of ice was so great as to force her out to sea again, and the attempt to penetrate farther westward was at length abandoned. Swaine then carefully examined the coast of Labrador before returning to Philadelphia, where he arrived in November. In the following year he made a second voyage of discovery in the same vessel. He was again unsuccessful, and returned in October, with the loss of three men, who were killed on the Labrador coast.

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[1] Vol. III. ch. iii.

[2] See *ante*, ch. i.

JAMES COOK.*

Nearly a quarter of a century later, — in the same year in which the American colonies declared their independence of the mother-country, — the English government determined to renew the search for the much desired passage; but it was now thought desirable to reverse the course hitherto followed, and to attempt to pass from the Pacific into the Atlantic. Two ships were accordingly fitted out, — the "Resolution," under command of the famous navigator Captain James Cook, and the "Discovery," Captain Charles Clerke. Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of July, 1776, and was to be joined by Clerke on his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope. It was not, however, until August, 1779, that the two ships entered Behring's Strait. After passing through the strait they first sailed toward Asia, and then turning east skirted the American coast for a short distance ; but the season was far advanced, and Cook did not think it prudent to continue his voyage. Before the end of the month he began to retrace his course, and not long afterward he was killed in the Sandwich Islands, leaving a name unsurpassed by any English sailor of his time.[1] In the following year Clerke again passed through the strait ; but the obstruction by ice was such that he soon relinquished any attempt to prosecute the search along the American coast.

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* From an engraving in *Troisième Voyage de Cook* (Versailles et Paris, 1783).

About the time that Cook sailed from England, Lieutenant Richard Pickersgill was sent to Baffin's Bay in the brig "Lion," to make such an examination of the waters in that neighborhood as might be useful to a vessel which it was intended should meet Cook on his anticipated arrival from the other side of America. Pickersgill left Deptford on the 26th of May, 1776, but he seems to have lacked the qualities which characterized the great navigators of the preceding century, and his voyage only added one more to the catalogue of those which had failed to give an adequate return for the thought and expense bestowed on them. In the next year Walter Young was sent out in the same vessel with a similar purpose, to ascertain how far it was probable that a northwest passage existed by way of Baffin's Bay. Like his predecessor, he was deterred by the multitude of icebergs which he encountered, and he returned within a little more than three months after leaving England. It was left to another century, and to men of more persistent energy, to trace the extent and direction of the waters flowing into that great sea.

The spirit of Arctic adventure slumbered for more than a generation after the departure of Cook on his last voyage. At length it suddenly revived in consequence of reports carried to England that during the years 1815 to 1817 there had been a great change in the enormous ice-fields surrounding the coasts of Greenland. It was said they had been broken up to an unusual extent, and had drifted down into the Atlantic, leaving it more probable than ever before that exploring vessels would be able to reach a high northern latitude. With the repeated confirmations of this theory from various sources there was a revival of interest in the still unsolved problem of a northwest passage ; and this interest was further stimulated by the writings and personal appeals of Mr., afterward Sir John, Barrow, then and for many years Secretary of the Admiralty. Through the persistent exertions of the advocates for further explorations, it was determined by the British government to send out another expedition.

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[1] [See Vol. II. p. 469. In the *London Athenæum*, July 20, 1878, is a list of the MSS. in the British Museum illustrating Cook's voyage, including journals, log-books, etc. — ED.]

This consisted of the "Isabella," of three hundred and eighty-five tons, under the command of Captain John Ross, and the "Alexander," of two hundred and fifty-two tons, under Lieutenant W. E. Parry, officered and manned by a company numbering in all ninety-four persons. The ships sailed from the Thames on the 18th of April, 1818, and after an absence of seven months anchored there on the 14th of November. Ross was a skilful and cautious seaman, but he lacked the bold and adventurous spirit which experience had shown was necessary for success in Arctic navigation. This defect and a too close adherence to the letter of his instructions prevented his voyage from having much scientific or practical importance. He was assiduous in making the astronomical and other observations required of him, and he corrected some of the mistakes which had crept into the maps; but he added little to the knowledge of Arctic geography, and on some points he fell into serious errors.

These mistakes were not shared by all of his officers, and in the following year Lieutenant Parry, who had been next in command under Ross, was sent out with two vessels, the "Hecla," of three hundred and seventy-five tons, and the "Griper," of one hundred and eighty tons. The whole number of persons in this expedition was precisely the same as was with Ross, and they were all experienced sailors, many of them having been with him on the late voyage. The two vessels sailed from the Thames on the 11th of May, 1819, and arrived at the Orkneys, on their return, at the end of October, 1820, having been absent nearly a year and a half. Parry had been at sea ever since he was twelve years old, and thus brought to the service in which he was now employed a large and various experience, though he was still under thirty. From the first he exhibited great energy, excellent judgment, and a most watchful care over the health and wellbeing of his men. Directing his course up the western coast of Greenland, he passed through Sir James Lawrence Sound, and reached Melville Island early in September, 1819. Here, in a small opening to which he gave the name of Winter Harbor, he was forced to remain nearly eleven months. It was the farthest western point yet reached by any exploring expedition; and their success thus far had entitled the officers and crew to a bounty of £5,000, authorized by an act of Parliament. The winter was long, dreary, and intensely cold; but its wearisomeness was relieved by theatrical performances and by the publication of a weekly newspaper entitled *The North Georgia Gazette, or Winter Chronicle*, which was not without considerable merit, and, considering the circumstances under which it was composed, well deserved the honor of republication on the return of the ships to England. On becoming free of the ice, in August, 1820, Parry attempted to prosecute his voyage still farther to the west, but after painfully working his way a few miles he was compelled, by the lateness of the season and by the impenetrable masses of ice which surrounded his vessels, to relinquish his design. He then made sail for home, with his confidence in a northwest passage in no degree shaken by his failure to find it.

In the spring of the following year Parry sailed on a second voyage, in the "Fury," of three hundred and seventy-six tons, with a crew of fifty-nine persons, and accompanied by his old ship, the "Hecla," under the command of Captain George F. Lyon, who had with him fifty-seven men. The ships and their equipments were, as nearly as possible, closely alike, so that in case of an accident to either vessel her wants could be supplied at once from her consort; and this "equalization" proved in the end to be of so great advantage that Parry himself declared it to be an "absolute necessity" in the case of "two ships that must necessarily be dependent solely on their own resources for a long and uncertain period of time."[1] The ships sailed from the Thames on the 8th of May, 1821, and directed their course for Hudson's Strait and the upper part of Hudson's Bay, following in the track of Middleton's discoveries near the middle of the last century.[2] The season was unfavorable, and early in October Parry was obliged to secure his vessels in winter-quarters near the southeast angle of Melville Peninsula. In the mean time, however, he had verified many of the discoveries of Middleton, and had accurately delineated the coast for a distance of "more than two hundred leagues, nearly half of which belonged to the continent of North America."[3] The weariness of this first winter was relieved in very much the same way as in the former voyage, and by expedients similar to those which he had then employed. Winter Island, where he was now imprisoned by the ice, was more than eight degrees farther south than Winter Harbor; but it was not until the beginning of July that he was able to leave it and begin to work his way northward. After several ineffectual attempts to pass through the opening between Melville Peninsula and Cockburn Island, since known as the Strait of Fury and Hecla, he was again obliged to secure his vessels in a winter station as early as the middle of October. Here, at the island of Igloolik, not far from the northeastern point of Melville Peninsula, he remained through another dreary winter until the early part of August, when, in consequence of the failing health of his crew, — which, in the opinion of the surgeon, rendered it imprudent to remain in the ice another winter, — he reluctantly gave up the farther prosecution of his voyage. As soon as the vessels were free from the ice they sailed for England, where they arrived about the middle of October. The two years had been fruitful in important discoveries; and Parry returned more than ever convinced of the existence of a northwest passage, but with his belief in its practicability much shaken.

A few months after his return he sailed again in the "Hecla," on a third voyage, accompanied by the "Fury," now under the command of Captain Henry P. Hoppner, who had been on both of the previous voyages. They left the Nore on the 19th of May, 1824, with instructions to effect a passage, if possible, through Barrow Strait and Prince Regent's Inlet into the western seas. The season proved a very unfavorable one, and the progress of the ships was greatly impeded by the extent and thickness of the ice. At the end of September, Parry was obliged to seek winter-quarters at Port Bowen, on the eastern side of Prince Regent's Inlet. Here he remained until the 20th of July, 1825, when, the ships having been freed from the ice, he attempted to cross to the western side of the Inlet. For a short time he made satisfactory progress; but he soon encountered fresh obstructions, by which the "Fury" received severe and repeated injuries, and it became necessary to abandon her at the end of August, very near the place where she had been first beset. Her officers and men were then transferred to the "Hecla," and as soon as possible sail was made for England, where the ship arrived about the middle of October. The expedition was the least successful of the three undertaken by Parry; but it does not appear that its failure was due to any want of care and forethought on his part or on that of his companions. Nothing had been done to solve the long vexed problem, though considerable additions had been made to the knowledge of the limited field to which Parry's researches were confined.

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[1] *Journal of a Second Voyage*, Introduction, p. iv.

[2] See *ante*, ch. i.

[3] *Journal of a Second Voyage*, p. 118.

Just a month after Parry sailed on his third voyage, his former companion, Captain Lyon, left England in the "Griper," with instructions to proceed through Hudson's Strait to Repulse Bay or Wager River, where he was to leave his vessel in a place of security for the winter. He was then to cross Melville Peninsula, and make a preliminary examination of the shore of the Polar Sea in that neighborhood, with a view to a more thorough exploration in the following spring. For the latter purpose, he was to go as rapidly as possible to Point Turnagain, which had already been reached by Captain, afterwards Sir John, Franklin, in an overland expedition from the west, and he was then to trace the coast far enough east to connect it with the previous explorations. The expedition was a signal failure. Owing to their proximity to the magnetic pole, the compasses ceased to be of practical use; the season was extremely unfavorable; constant gales were encountered; and the "Griper" was so dull a sailor and was so deep in the water as often to be unmanageable. She sailed from the Thames on the 16th of June, and early in August arrived off Cape Chidley, where she took on board additional stores from a surveying vessel which had been ordered to accompany her to the edge of the ice, and which had towed her a large part of the distance thus far accomplished. Here the two vessels parted company. By the most persevering efforts Lyon succeeded in getting within about ninety miles of Repulse Bay before the 10th of September, when he lost all his anchors in a severe gale. He then determined to relinquish his undertaking, and as soon as was possible made sail for home; but it was not until the 10th of November that the "Griper" was moored at Portsmouth. How far the failure of the enterprise was owing to a lack of good seamanship on the part of the commander it is not easy, perhaps, to determine; but it is scarcely possible not to compare his failure with what was accomplished by the old navigators under disadvantages as great, at least, as those he had to encounter.

When the third expedition under Parry and the overland expedition under Franklin were planned, it was also determined to send another expedition, by way of Behring's Strait, to furnish such help as either of these officers might require in the event of a successful prosecution of the explorations assigned to him. For this purpose, Captain Frederick W. Beechey was placed in command of the ship "Blossom," mounting sixteen guns, and manned by a crew numbering in all one hundred persons. On the 19th of May, 1825, Beechey set sail from Spithead, and directing his course around Cape Horn and by way of Bounty Bay and the Sandwich Islands, he reached the entrance of Behring's Strait about the middle of July in the following year. From that point he explored the coast of North America in the "Blossom" as far east as Cape Beaufort, and the exploration was continued by a boat party as far as Point Barrow, near the 160th degree of west longitude, and less than one hundred and fifty miles west from the farthest point reached by Franklin. Beechey remained within the strait until the middle of October, when he sailed for San Francisco. Thence he proceeded to China and the Loo Choo Islands, returning to Behring's Strait in the summer of 1827. He pushed forward, however, no farther than Kotzebue Sound, and early in September, satisfied that there was no probability of being able to communicate with either Parry or Franklin, he set sail on his return. He reached England early in the autumn of 1828, having been absent three years and a half, and sailed seventy-three thousand miles. Beechey's voyage added little to a knowledge of the northwest coast of America, which seems to have been to him an object of far less interest than the islands and shoals of the Pacific; but the scientific value of the examination made of the cliffs of Escholtz Bay by some of his subordinate officers, and the interest attaching to the fossil remains obtained by them, cannot be overlooked in any account of the northwest voyages.

In 1827, after Parry's return from a voyage toward the North Pole, an account of which does not come within the plan of this chapter, Sir John Ross proposed to the British government an expedition to the northwest. But his proposal was not accepted, and he then applied to an old friend, Mr. Felix Booth, one of the sheriffs of London, who at first declined to engage in what he feared might be regarded as a mercantile speculation. Subsequently, however, his scruples were removed by the repeal of the act of Parliament offering a reward for the discovery of a northwest passage, and he then entered heartily into Ross's plans. From his own resources he furnished nearly the whole cost of the expedition, to an amount between seventeen thousand and eighteen thousand pounds sterling. A small steamer of eighty-five tons, named the "Victory," was purchased, repaired, and built up so as nearly to double her tonnage. The vessel was amply provided for her intended voyage; her second officer, James C. Ross, nephew of the commander, was a man of large scientific attainments, and her other officers and her crew were picked men ; but the results of her voyage were far less than might have been reasonably anticipated. Indeed, the most important fruit of the voyage was the discovery, by James C. Ross, of the true position of the north magnetic pole, which was found near the southwest angle of Boothia.

On the 23d of May, 1829, the "Victory" sailed from Woolwich, and after various embarrassments arising from the unsatisfactory working of the steam-engine, and from the mutiny of the crew of a store-ship which was to accompany the "Victory" during the first part of the voyage, Ross, about the middle of August, reached the beach where the "Fury" was abandoned four years before. A few weeks later, while attempting to pass down what is now known as the Gulf of Boothia, he was so beset with ice that he was obliged, before the end of September, to put the ship into winter-quarters in a harbor to which he gave the name of Felix Harbor. Here he remained until the early part of September, 1830, when he endeavored to get under way and proceed north again ; but he only succeeded in working through the ice about four miles, when he was obliged to secure his vessel in another harbor, named by him Sheriff's Harbor. In this new place of refuge he remained until near the end of August, 1831, when he managed to get a few miles farther north, but was soon forced to go into winter-quarters in a third harbor, which he named first Victory, and afterward Victoria Harbor. In the spring of 1832 he determined to abandon the ship and return by sledges and boats to Fury Beach, with the hope of getting into Baffin's Bay. On the 29th of May he left the ship, and after great difficulties succeeded in reaching the stores left on the beach by the "Fury." He then tried to push forward for the completion of his design ; but he found the ice so compact that he was obliged to return to Fury Beach. Here another dreary winter was passed in a house built of wood and canvas and covered with snow. On the 8th of July, 1833, Ross and his crew finally left Fury Beach, and after walking six days reached their boats which had remained in Batty Bay. By the middle of August they were enabled to embark, and on the 26th the boats were picked

SIR JOHN ROSS.*

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* After B. R. Faulkner's likeness of Ross as engraved by R. Hart in his *Narrative of a Second Voyage*, App. (London, 1835).

up near the western shore of Baffin's Bay by the "Isabella" of Hull, a whale-ship which had been commanded at one time by Ross, and on the 12th of October he landed at Stromness.

Captain, afterwards Sir George, Back, having already conducted an overland expedition in 1833, yielded to that strange fascination which has seized almost every adventurer in the field of Arctic discovery, and, undeterred by the recollection of recent perils and anxieties, was ready in a few months to attempt a new exploration. In May, 1836, just eight months after his return to England, he was appointed to the command of the ship "Terror," of three hundred and forty tons, which was to be sent out by the British government, at the suggestion of the Geographical Society, for the purpose of tracing the coast line between Prince Regent's Inlet and Point Turnagain ; and on the 16th of June he sailed from the Thames. Three months later the ship was frozen into the ice at the eastern end of Frozen Strait ; and it was not until the middle of July, 1837, that she was again able to make sail, having drifted in the mean time nearly three hundred miles eastward. The ship had been in almost constant danger, had been badly injured by the ice, the crew were in no condition for a further prosecution of the voyage, and Back determined to return to England. On the 3d of September he reached the Irish coast, and as the ship leaked so badly as to be in danger of sinking, she was run ashore on a sandy beach. The voyage had been singularly barren of results ; but its failure seems to have been mainly, if not entirely, owing to causes over which Back could have had no control, and it is to be remembered only as one of the long series of fruitless efforts in the same general direction.

Early in 1845 the British government determined to send out another expedition to effect, if possible, the northwest passage. For this purpose two bomb vessels — the "Erebus," of three hundred and seventy-nine tons, and the "Terror," in which Back had made his voyage — were thoroughly repaired, and provisioned for an absence of three years. The whole number of persons in the two vessels was one hundred and twenty-nine ; and at the head of the expedition was Sir John Franklin, then in his seventieth year. His two principal officers were Commander James Fitzjames, in his own ship, the "Erebus," and Captain F. R. M. Crozier, in the "Terror." The two ships sailed from England on the 19th of May, 1845, and reached the Whalefish Islands, on the western coast of Greenland,[1] on the 4th of July. Here they remained until the evening of the 12th, to complete some preliminary arrangements, and then sailing, they were seen for the last time a fortnight later, moored to an iceberg in Baffin's Bay, apparently waiting for a favorable opportunity to enter or work around what is known as the "Middle Ice." As time passed and nothing was heard from them, great anxiety began to be felt for their safety, not only in England, but throughout the civilized world, and expedition after expedition was sent out to carry relief or to ascertain something of the history of the lost navigators. The problem of their fate long eluded discovery, but at length, as will be seen in the sequel, it was fully solved, in part by our own countrymen.

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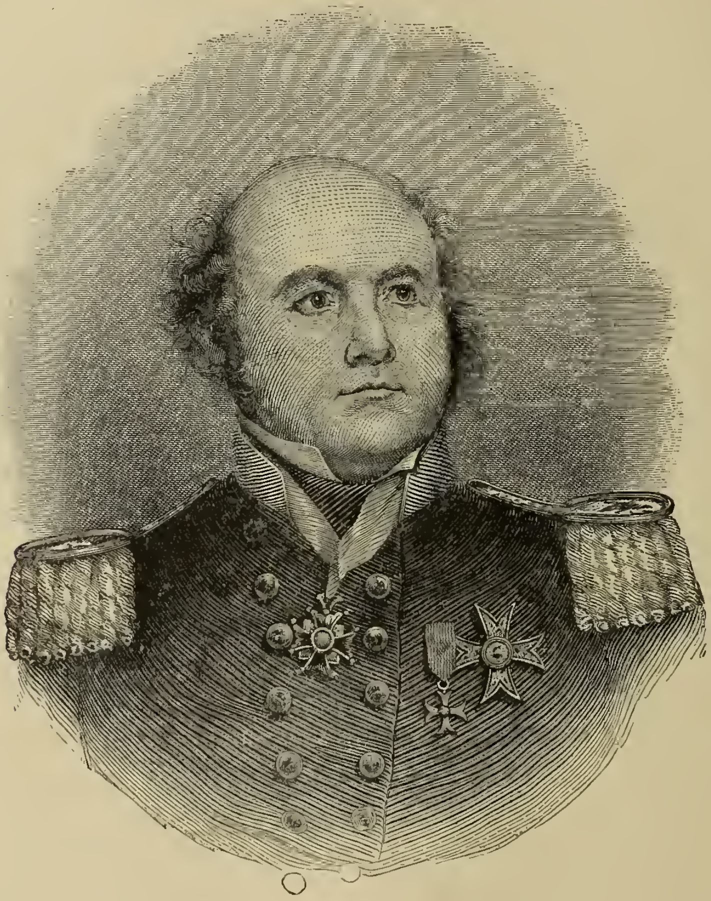
[1] [A journal of the early part of their voyage, kept by Capt. Fitzjames, was sent home by the tender from Disco, and has been printed. — Ed.]

So early as the autumn of 1847, it was determined to send out three expeditions: one to Lancaster Sound, to follow the supposed track of Franklin, a second down the Mackenzie River, and the third by way of Behring's Strait. At the head of the first was Sir James Clarke Ross, who had already acquired a high reputation from his discovery of the magnetic pole, and who had just returned from a voyage to the Antarctic regions. Beside his own ship, the "Enterprise," of four hundred and seventy tons and seventy men, he had with him the "Investigator," of four hundred and



John Franklin*

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* After the engraving in Nourse's *Hall's Second Expedition* (Washington, 1879).

twenty tons and seventy men, under command of Captain E. J. Bird; and each vessel was provided with a large steam launch, which proved of much use. The two vessels sailed from the Thames on the 12th of May, 1848, with instructions to proceed together to the head of Barrow Strait. Ross was then to seek winter-quarters somewhere in the neighborhood of Parry's Winter Harbor, from which point he was to send out parties to examine the eastern and western coasts of Banks Land, while his companion was to find a harbor on the northern side of North Somerset, the coasts of which, as well as those of Boothia, were to be explored. The expedition entered Baffin's Bay early in July, but soon found all progress stopped by the impenetrable mass of "the Middle Ice." By great exertions they finally succeeded in getting round it, and pushed as far west as Leopold Island, which they reached on the 11th of September, when they were at once frozen in. Here they were compelled to remain until the 28th of August in the following year. They then fortunately made their escape, but were utterly unable to push farther to the west, and were reluctantly compelled to return to England, where they arrived early in November. During their long stay at Leopold Island they were not idle, and the whole neighborhood was carefully searched by parties on foot or in sledges, but nothing was discovered to throw light on the fate of their missing countrymen. The sole fruits of the expedition were the magnetic and other scientific observations, which were carefully and accurately made.

The command of the second expedition was assigned to Sir John Richardson, who was to be accompanied by Mr. John Rae, one of the chief factors in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Like the voyage of Ross, this expedition was a failure. In neither case, however, was the failure due to any want of skill, energy, or perseverance. The obstacles were such as no man could have surmounted.

For the expedition through Behring's Strait, the "Herald," of twenty-six guns, under command of Captain Henry Kellett, and a surveying brig, the "Plover," Commander T. E. L. Moore, were selected. The "Herald" had sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of July, 1845, for a survey of the Pacific Ocean, and had been engaged in that service for more than two years when it was determined to employ her in the Arctic search. The "Plover" sailed from the Thames on the 1st of January, 1848, to coöperate in the search, principally as a store-ship; but it was not until the end of October that she reached the southern opening of Behring's Strait, too late in the season to attempt anything that year. Meanwhile, on receiving his new orders, Kellett sailed for the north on the 9th of May, and passing through Behring's Strait anchored off Chamisso Island, in Kotzebue Sound, on the 14th of September; but at this late date it was not possible to proceed farther east than Cape Krusenstern. From that point he speedily returned, and on the 2d of October passed out of the Strait into the Pacific again. He wintered in the Sandwich Islands, and on the 19th of May, 1849, left Honolulu for Kotzebue Sound, where he arrived on the 15th of July, and found the "Plover," which had anchored in the Sound on the previous day. Three days later they started for the north, accompanied by the yacht "Nancy Dawson," owned and commanded by Mr. Robert Sheddon, who had heard in China of the expedition, and, though an invalid, had determined to accompany it as a volunteer. For a short time the vessels kept together, but they were finally separated, and the closeness of the ice prevented them from pushing far to the north. After discovering the remarkable island now well known as Herald Island, Kellett left Behring's Strait at the beginning of October, and reached Mazatlan on the 14th of November. The "Nancy Dawson" had preceded him one day, and a few weeks afterward her heroic owner died, and was buried there. The "Plover" wintered in Kotzebue Sound. During the summer a well-equipped party was dispatched from her to examine the coast as far east as the Mackenzie River. A subdivision of this party continued the examination as far as the Coppermine, but without finding any trace of Franklin, and finally returned to England by way of Hudson's Bay. Early in the spring of 1850, the "Herald" sailed a third time for the north, and reached Chamisso Island about the middle of July. She remained within the Strait until the end of September, but without making any noteworthy discovery, and then sailed for Honolulu, leaving the "Plover" to winter in Grantley Harbor. Returning to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope, the "Herald" arrived at Spithead on the 6th of June, 1851.

The failure of these various expeditions to throw any light on the fate of Sir John Franklin and his companions only deepened the general interest in the question; and a fresh search was immediately planned. In 1850 ten vessels, grouped in seven expeditions, were sent out to carry on the search in different directions. Of these expeditions, the most interesting and important was that through Behring's Strait, consisting of the "Enterprise," Captain Richard Collinson, and the "Investigator," Captain Robert L. McClure. These vessels sailed together from Plymouth on the 20th of January; but the "Enterprise," being much the faster sailer, reached the Sandwich Islands and left there some time before the arrival of the "Investigator." The latter vessel, however, by taking a shorter course, entered Behring's Strait first, and, without waiting for his superior officer, McClure at once pushed forward along the northern shore of America. By skilful management he was enabled to reach and pass up the Prince of Wales Strait, between Banks Land and Prince Albert Land, before the close of that season. Here his progress was stopped by the setting in of winter, and he was obliged to secure his vessel as well as he could when he had reached within sixty miles of Melville Sound. The "Investigator" remained immovable in the ice from the last of September until the middle of July. During the winter various excursions were made for the purpose of geographical discovery and for carrying out the other objects of the expedition. The most important of these exploring parties was headed by McClure himself, who with a sledge and six men left the vessel on the 21st of October. Proceeding along the east side of Banks Land, they came, on the morning of the sixth day, in sight of the sea at a distance of only twelve miles, thus connecting their discoveries with those of Parry thirty years before. "The northwest passage was discovered!" says Sherard Osborn. "All doubt as to the water communication between the two great oceans was removed; and it now alone remained for Captain McClure, his officers and men, to perfect the work by traversing the few thousand miles of known ground between them and their homes."[1] After the ship was set free McClure endeavored to force his way through the Strait, and by the 15th of August he had reached within twenty-five miles of Melville Sound; but beyond that point it was impossible to advance. With a promptness of decision and an energy of action which alike do him credit, he determined to retrace his course and try to pass up the western coast of Banks Land. By great exertions he succeeded in accomplishing this object, but was obliged to go into winter-quarters, in the latter part of September, at a place fitly named by him the Bay of Mercy. At the end of April he made a sledge journey to Winter Harbor, in the hope of finding a deposit of provisions or of communicating with one of the other exploring vessels, so as to secure a means of escape if he should be unable to extricate the "Investigator" from the ice. In both hopes he was disappointed, and shortly afterward the scurvy made its appearance, — the most formidable danger to Arctic navigators. There was still hope, however, that the vessel might make her escape; but the season was a very short one, and so early as the first week in September it became certain that another winter must be passed in the ice. In this condition of things McClure assembled his officers and men, and told them that in the following April he should send half of them home, a part going up the Mackenzie River, and a part by way of Beechey Island, where it was expected a boat and provisions would be found. With the remainder of his men he should endeavor to save the ship, and perhaps spend another winter in the ice, finally retreating toward Lancaster Sound, in the hope of finding succor there. Fortunately it was not necessary to carry out this plan. The record of McClure's visit to Winter Harbor had been discovered by one of the travelling parties of the "Resolute," another of the relief ships, and one of her officers, Lieutenant Pim, was dispatched to communicate with him. Pim arrived on the 6th of April, 1853, and McClure determined at once to accompany him back to the "Resolute," and confer with her commander, Captain Kellett, as to the best course to be pursued. As the result of this interview and of a medical survey of the crew of the "Investigator," it was decided to abandon that ship, and to distribute her officers and crew between the "Resolute" and the "Intrepid." Subsequently, after another Arctic winter, these vessels, as well as two others, were also abandoned by order of Sir Edward Belcher, the senior officer then in the northern sea, and the combined crews were transferred to other vessels which had been sent out from England with fresh stores. They finally arrived in England at the end of September, 1854. McClure had solved the long-sought problem, and had passed from ocean to ocean over seas and channels which it might be reasonably supposed were sometimes navigable. His great discovery was rewarded by knighthood, and by the distribution to his officers and crew of the reward of ten thousand pounds promised to the discoverers of a northwest passage.

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[1] Osborn, *Discovery of the Northwest Passage*, p. 139.

Scarcely inferior in interest was the voyage of the "Enterprise." In the summer of 1850, Collinson penetrated a short distance to the north and east of Behring's Strait; but he was finally obliged to return, and wintered at Hong Kong. Early in the following year he started again, and rounding Point Barrow at the end of July, pushed east very nearly in the track of the "Investigator." Passing up the Prince of Wales Strait somewhat farther than McClure had been able to go, he was at last forced to winter in Walker Bay, at the southern end of the Strait. In the spring of 1852 various sledge parties were sent out, one of which went as far as Melville Island. It was not, however, until September that the vessel was free from the ice. Returning down the Strait, Collinson proceeded a short way up the west side of Banks Land, and then turning south and east reached Cambridge Bay, on the southern side of Wollaston Land, where he wintered. From this point he was compelled to retrace his course, and he finally returned to England by way of Behring's Strait.

Shortly after the departure of the "Enterprise" and "Investigator," the "Resolute," Captain Austin, and the "Assistance," Captain Ommanney, were sent out with two screw tenders, the "Pioneer" and the "Intrepid." These vessels sailed from Greenhithe on the 4th of May, 1850, for the purpose of carrying on the search through Lancaster Sound. Captain Ommanney was the first to reach Cape Riley and Beechey Island, where he arrived on the 23d of August, and where he found positive traces of the missing expedition in scattered remains of their first winter-quarters. A few days later he was joined by Captain Austin, and subsequently both ships tried to ascend Wellington Channel, but without success, and as early as the 13th of September they were forced to go into winter-quarters at Griffith Island. In the following spring numerous and well-equipped sledge parties were sent out in various directions, but without discovering any further traces of the lost ships. On the breaking up of the ice, in the early part of August, an attempt was made to examine Jones Sound, but very little was accomplished, and in September the vessels returned home.

Closely connected with this expedition was another under the command of Captain William Penny, an experienced whaling master. By direction of the British government two new vessels were purchased, the "Lady Franklin," of two hundred tons, and the "Sophia," of one hundred tons. Penny was appointed to the command of the first, and the second was assigned to Alexander Stewart, a young man then serving as mate of a whaling vessel, but who had already made five voyages to Davis Strait. The vessels were fitted for sea at Aberdeen, from which port they sailed on the 13th of April, 1850. After visiting the west coast of Greenland, where Penny secured the services of an interpreter, who proved a most useful and important helper, they pushed westward through Melville Bay. Here they met Austin's ships, and during the remainder of the voyage they were in frequent communication with him or his officers. The two expeditions wintered within a few miles of each other, Penny having been obliged to go into winter-quarters in Assistance Bay, on the southern coast of Cornwallis Island, a few days after Austin was frozen in. Sir John Ross, who had been sent out at the expense of the Hudson's Bay Company in the yacht "Felix," also wintered in the same place; but as his voyage was not productive of any important results, it does not require notice here. Early in the spring Penny organized a very complete system of sledge journeys, by which a thorough exploration was made of Wellington Channel and Cornwallis Island. It was his own opinion that Sir John Franklin had passed through Wellington Channel, and we now know he was right in this opinion; but it was not shared by his officers nor by Captain Austin. As it was not practicable, or even safe, for him to remain in the ice a second winter, he determined to return home as soon as his vessels were free, and reached Scotland with them in September.

In June, 1850, another vessel was sent out, mainly at the cost of Lady Franklin. This was the "Prince Albert," of ninety tons, Captain C. C. Forsyth, who was directed to make an examination of Prince Regent's Inlet. He descended the inlet as far as Fury Beach, when he was compelled by the ice to return. He then worked his way as far west as Wellington Channel, where he communicated with the other expeditions, and, returning to England in October, carried the first information of the discoveries of Austin and Penny at Cape Riley and Beechey Island.

More interesting than these fruitless voyages was the United States Grinnell Expedition, which sailed from New York on the 22d of May, 1850, and arrived there on its return in September, 1851. It consisted of the "Advance," of one hundred and forty-four tons, and the "Rescue," of ninety-one tons, both owned by Mr. Henry Grinnell, and lent to the United States government. They were, however, officered and manned by the government, and the expedition must be considered in part a private and in part a national undertaking. At its head was Lieutenant Edwin J. De Haven, and the second in command was Acting Master Samuel P. Griffin; but the name most commonly associated with it, as well as with a later expedition, is that of its surgeon and historian, Dr. Elisha K. Kane. The united crews of the two vessels, including officers, numbered only thirty-three persons. After leaving New York, both vessels proceeded direct to the west coast of Greenland, where they arrived at the end of June, and then worked through Lancaster Sound, and as far west as Cape Riley. Here the traces of Franklin were again found, and examined, only two days after their discovery by Ommanney. At the end of August Cornwallis Island was reached, and in a few days seven of the searching vessels were assembled there. Subsequently they succeeded in getting as far as Griffith Island, where they made fast to the ice. Further progress that season was impossible, and on the 13th of September De Haven determined to try and return to the United States, in accordance with his instructions. Shortly afterward his vessels were frozen into the ice in Wellington Channel, up which he drifted nearly to the upper end of Cornwallis Island, discovering in the distance high land, to which the name of Grinnell Land was given. They were utterly helpless, and continued to drift north until the 2d of October, when the direction of their involuntary movement changed, and they began to drift south again. Drifting slowly down Wellington Channel, they were carried through Barrow Strait and Lancaster Sound into Baffin's Bay, and it was not until the 4th of June that the floe in which they were immovably fastened broke up, and it was three or four days later before they were entirely free. It had been a long, dreary, and dangerous bondage, up to that time without parallel in Arctic navigation. On becoming free they again made for the coast of Greenland to recruit, with the intention of returning to Wellington Channel for the further prosecution of the search. But having been again caught in ice through which they were not able to force their way, the attempt was relinquished. The expedition had failed to throw any new light on the fate of Franklin, and its only important addition to Arctic geography was the discovery of Grinnell Land; but the story of the long drift will always be read with interest.

During the absence of so many expeditions there was naturally a lull in the preparations for a further search; but in April, 1851, Dr. Rae, under instructions from the British government, descended the Coppermine River, and then turning east traced the southern coast of Wollaston Land to its junction with the Victoria Land of Simpson. Subsequently he ascended the eastern coast as far as Pilly Point, opposite to the northern extremity of King William's Land. No traces of the lost ships were discovered, though Rae was not far from Franklin's winter-quarters, and was still nearer to the place where the ships were abandoned; but considerable additions were made to the knowledge of the coast lines, and the conduct of the expedition reflected great credit on its head.

Meanwhile the "Prince Albert," having been refitted by Lady Franklin, was dispatched again on the 3d of June, 1851, under command of Captain William Kennedy, for a further examination of Prince Regent's Inlet. Failing to get through the ice to the western shore of the Inlet, and after the accidental separation of Kennedy and four of his men from the vessel for several weeks, winter-quarters were established in Batty Bay. Early in the new year preparations were made for a careful examination of the land by Kennedy and his chief officer, Lieutenant Bellot, a gallant young Frenchman, who had obtained leave to join in the search, and who was afterward drowned, to the grief of all who knew him. In one of their journeys Bellot Strait was discovered, and, misled by the appearance of Peel Sound, which seemed to offer no passage for vessels, Kennedy, instead of examining King William's Land, confined his explorations to the Prince of Wales Island. If he had not been diverted from the original plan of his voyage, he would probably have been the first to discover the fate of Franklin and his companions. As it was, Kennedy only added another to the list of heroic men who endured untold hardships in the endeavor to solve the dark problem and just missed the answer. He threw no light on it, though he travelled more than a thousand miles in his sledge journeys; and in October he returned to England.

On the return of Captain Austin from his fruitless search it was at once determined by the British government to send out a new expedition, and ample preparations were made to insure its success, if possible. But unfortunately the chief command was given to Sir Edward Belcher, who, with an overweening confidence in his own wisdom, seems to have fallen far short of his predecessors in energy, perseverance, and good judgment. His squadron consisted of his own ship, the "Assistance"; the "Resolute," under Captain Kellett, who had already shown himself to be an able and active officer; of two screw tenders, the "Intrepid" and the "Pioneer," commanded respectively by F. L. McClintock and Sherard Osborn, both of whom afterward gained a high reputation; and of a store-ship, the "North Star," Commander Pullen. These vessels sailed from Greenhithe on the 21st of April, 1852, and, after being detained for some time on the western coast of Greenland, took their final departure from Upernavik on the 20th of June. In accordance with Belcher's instructions, the expedition was to carry on the search in two divisions, — one ship and one tender going up Wellington Channel, while the other ship and the other tender were to push forward to Melville Island. Belcher selected for his own part of the work the northern and eastern field of operations, and with the "Assistance" and "Pioneer" ascended Wellington Channel as far as Northumberland Sound, on the northwest coast of Grinnell Land, where he went into winter-quarters on the 18th of August. Numerous sledge parties were sent out as usual during the autumn and spring, and a great extent of coast line was examined. About the middle of July the vessels were released from the ice, and Belcher decided to retrace his course; but his progress was soon arrested by the ice, and as early as the middle of the following month the vessels became stationary. Here, on the eastern side of the Channel, about midway between its northern and southern extremities, they remained in nearly the same position until the summer of 1854.

Meanwhile, Kellett and McClintock had succeeded in reaching Dealy Island, a small island near the southern coast of Melville Island, where their vessels were secured for the winter on the 10th of September. Immediately afterward parties were sent out to make the necessary preparations for extensive journeys in the spring. One of these parties discovered at Winter Harbor the journal of McClure's successful voyage, left there a few months before, and thus obtained the first knowledge that the problem of a northwest passage had been solved. Early in March another party was dispatched to communicate, if possible, with the "Investigator," which object was successfully accomplished in a little less than a month. On the arrival of this party McClure determined to proceed in person the next day to Melville Island for the purpose of consulting with Kellett, his senior officer. Leaving the "Investigator" on the 7th of April, he arrived on board of the "Resolute" on the 19th, "having accomplished the whole distance of one hundred and sixty miles in the short space of twelve days, a feat not surpassed by any Arctic traveller under the same circumstances." [1] As the result of their consultation, and after a medical survey of the officers and men by the two surgeons, McClure was directed to abandon his ship. This was done on the 3d of June, 1853; and on the 17th her entire crew, numbering sixty-one persons, reached Melville Island, and were distributed between the "Resolute" and the "Intrepid." On the 17th of August, the two vessels were driven out of their winter-quarters; and a month later they were frozen into the pack, and it became necessary to secure the vessels for a second winter. They continued to drift, however, until the 5th of November, when they became permanently fixed. Kellett's preparations for the winter were made with the same care and forethought as if he had been in a perfectly secure harbor. Schools, lectures, and theatrical performances varied the monotony and kept up the spirits of all hands, an electric telegraph was set up between the two vessels, and plans were made for a continuation of the search in the following year.

But Belcher, availing himself of the large discretion which his instructions allowed him, had already determined to abandon all the vessels rather than remain in the ice a third winter. Positive orders were therefore sent to Kellett to withdraw all the men and proceed to Beechey Island; and on the 15th of May, 1854, the hatches were fastened down and the "Resolute" and the "Intrepid" were abandoned. Their crews reached Beechey Island at the end of the month; and subsequently the crews of all the vessels composing Sir Edward Belcher's squadron were embarked on the "North Star" and two other vessels sent out for their relief. They finally arrived in England early in October. A court-martial was at once held, and Kellett and McClure were honorably acquitted, each having acted in obedience to positive instructions from a superior officer. Belcher was also acquitted, the court finding that he had not acted "beyond his orders." This decision was in exact accordance with the facts, but it left wholly untouched the question of Belcher's fitness for the duty assigned to him, and tacitly admitted his want of good judgment.

The story of the "Resolute" does not end with her abandonment. About the middle of September, 1855, she was discovered in the ice in Davis Strait by an American whaling vessel, the bark "George Henry," of New London, Captain James M. Buddington. Captain Buddington immediately took possession of her, and by skilful management succeeded in taking her into New London, where she arrived on the 24th of December. The British government having waived all claim to the abandoned vessel, she was purchased by the United States government, refitted at the Brooklyn navy yard, and sent to England as a present to the queen. She reached Spithead on the 12th of December, 1856, and on the 30th of December was formally delivered to the British government.

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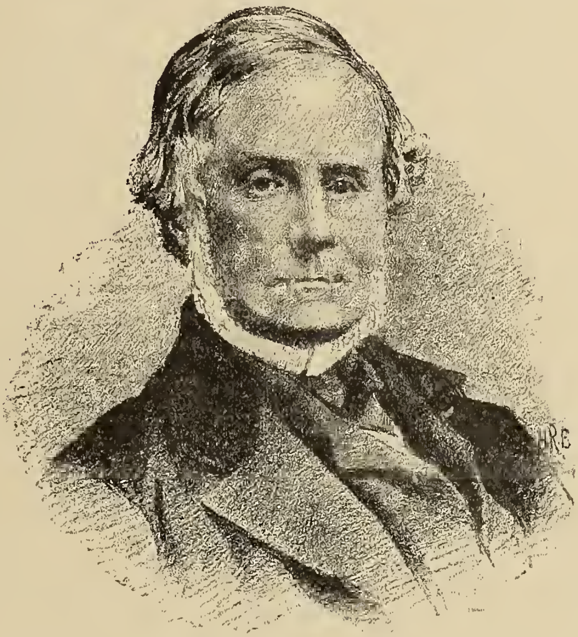
[1] McDougall, *Voyage of the Resolute*, p. 220.

Only a few months after the return of the Grinnell expedition, its surgeon, Dr. Kane, began to mature plans for a renewed search, and to interest individuals and organized bodies in the subject. Mr. Grinnell again offered the use of the "Advance," and other persons made important contributions to secure her efficient equipment, while as before the commander acted under orders from the government. The "Advance" sailed from New York on the 30th of May, 1853, having on board eighteen persons in all. Kane's plan was to ascend Baffin's Bay as far as practicable, and then to search for the missing ships in a region hitherto wholly unexamined. In the prosecution of this design he penetrated nearly to the seventy-ninth degree of latitude, the farthest point at which any vessel had hitherto wintered. Here his progress was finally arrested on the 29th of August. "During the winter which followed," says Dr. Kane, "the sun was one hundred and twenty days below the horizon; owing to a range of hills toward our southern meridian, the maximum darkness was not relieved by apparent twilight even at noonday."[1] Here the "Advance" remained



HENRY GRINNELL.*

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[1] *Arctic Explorations*, vol. ii. p. 304.

* From a reproduction of a photograph in Nourse's *Hall's Second Expedition* (Washington, 1879).

until the 17th of May, 1855, when it became necessary to abandon her, on account of the enfeebled condition of the crew and the insufficient quantity of stores remaining. The whole crew, with the exception of one man who died on the way, were then transported by boats mounted on sledges to Upernavik, which was reached on the 6th of August, eighty-three days after leaving the "Advance." During their long imprisonment nothing was found to throw light on the fate of Sir John Franklin; but Kane and his companions were not idle, and in their sledge journeys they examined a wide extent of coast and made some important discoveries. To sum up as briefly as possible what had been accomplished, it may be said that the coast of Greenland was examined as far as the great Humboldt Glacier, beyond which land was discovered and named Washington. Still farther north, it was believed, an open sea was seen; but later discoveries have shown that this was a mistake. On the opposite shore of Smith Sound and Kennedy Channel, the name given to its northern extension, the coast of Grinnell Land was carefully examined and laid down on the chart. The aggregate distance travelled by the various exploring parties was nearly three thousand miles, and about half of this distance was performed by Kane in person.

As nothing had been heard from him after his arrival at Upernavik in July, 1853, much anxiety was felt for his safety, and in February, 1855, Congress passed a resolve authorizing the dispatch of one or more vessels for his relief. Two suitable vessels, the bark "Rescue" and the steamer "Arctic," were procured, specially fitted for the work, and placed under the command of Lieutenant Henry J. Hartstein, of the United States navy, who sailed from New York about the first of June. Reaching Disco on the 5th of July, he forced an entrance into the north water about the middle of August, and after pushing as far north as seventy-eight and a half degrees, found traces of Dr. Kane's expedition. He also learned from some Eskimos whom he met that the vessel had been abandoned somewhere to the north, and that Kane and his companions had gone to Upernavik. Thereupon he turned south, and at Disco had the good fortune to meet the whole party, who had engaged passage for the Shetland Isles in a Danish brig. They were at once taken on board of the relief vessels, and reached New York on the 11th of October.

While these various expeditions were engaged in the search for Franklin in waters which he had not visited, or had left safely behind him, the Hudson Bay Company again sent Rae to Repulse Bay, which he reached the middle of August, 1853, and where he passed the winter. At the end of March he resumed his journey, and on the 17th of April, at Pelly Bay, fell in with the Eskimos, from whom he obtained various articles which were at once recognized as having belonged to Sir John Franklin or to officers under his command.[1] The stories told by the Eskimos were no doubt false in some particulars, but a clew had been found to the fate of the lost expedition. According to these stories, while some Eskimos were killing seals, in the winter of 1850, near King William's Land, they saw a large party of white men travelling south, and dragging a boat and sledges with them. Subsequently they saw dead bodies and graves on the main land, and dead bodies on an island easily identified as Montreal Island, near the mouth of Back's Great Fish River. Unfortunately Rae could not make an immediate investigation of the truth of these stories on the spot; but a subsequent expedition, undertaken in the summer of 1855 by Mr. James Anderson, under orders from the Hudson Bay Company, obtained confirmation of the more important part of the story told to Rae, and left no doubt as to the fate of the lost crews. This expedition, however, was equally unable to examine the shores of King William's Land.

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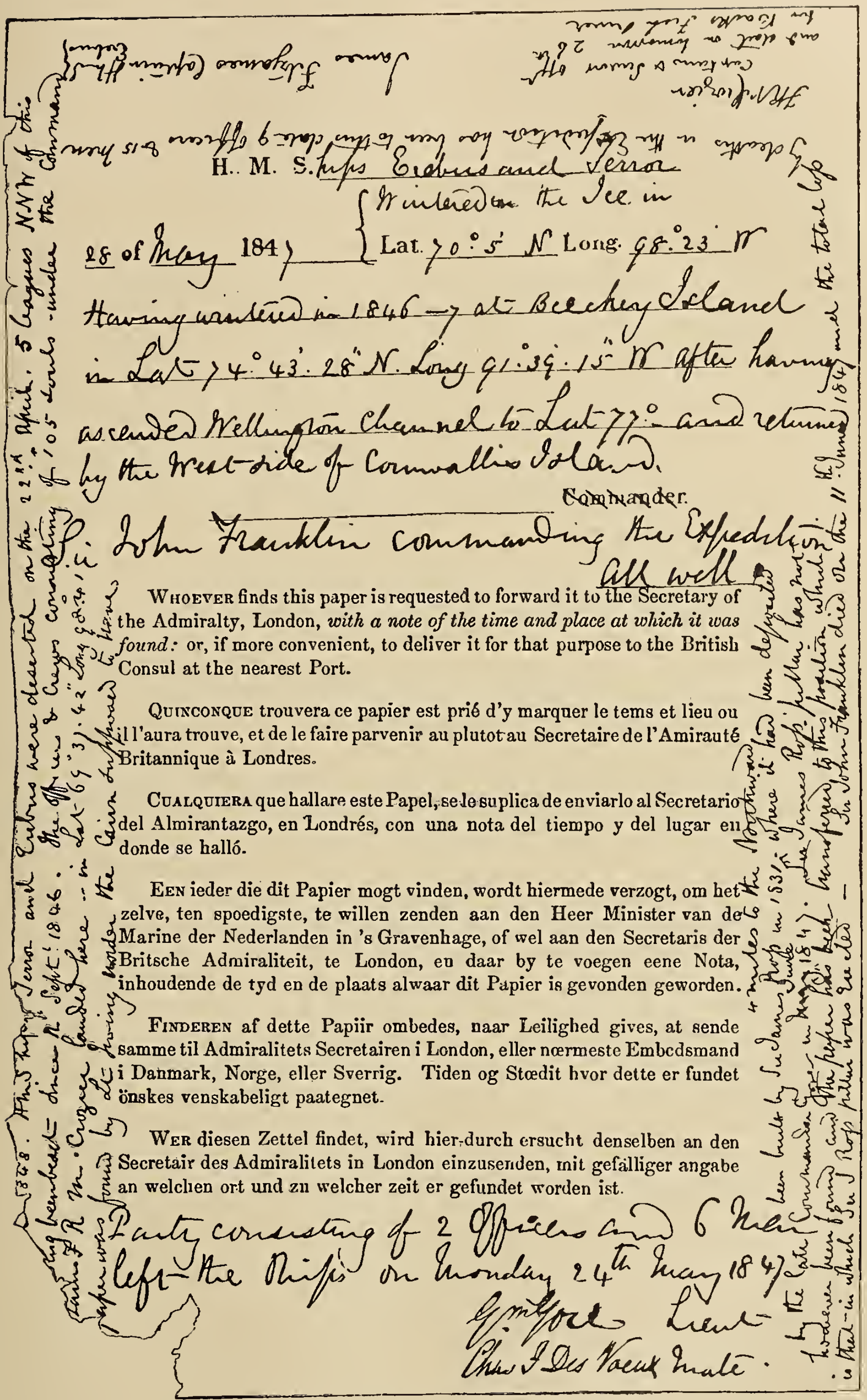
[1] Among these relics were a small silver plate, on which was engraved in full the name of Sir John Franklin, and also a considerable number of silver forks and spoons, marked with the initials of officers in the expedition.

The last, and in several respects the most remarkable, of the voyages undertaken in the search for Sir John Franklin was that of the "Fox," under the command of Captain F. L. McClintock. This vessel was a steam yacht of only one hundred and seventy-seven tons, purchased for the purpose by Lady Franklin, and equipped partly at her own cost and partly by a public subscription, on the refusal of the British government to prosecute the search any longer. The "Fox" began her voyage on the 1st of July, 1857, and before the end of August was beset with ice in Melville Bay. Then began one of the most remarkable drifts in the long history of Arctic navigation. For eight months the vessel was firmly fixed in the ice, and during that period she drifted nearly twelve hundred miles, carrying her toward the southern coast of Greenland through twelve degrees of latitude. At the end of April, 1858, she was released by the breaking up of the pack, and at once proceeded to one of the Greenland ports to refit. Early in May she again set sail, and after encountering numerous perils arrived at Beechey Island early in August.

It was already known that Sir John Franklin had passed his first winter here, and here his countrymen now erected a marble tablet to his memory and to the memory of his companions, prepared under the direction of Lady Franklin, and left in Greenland several years before. Failing to pass through Barrow Strait, Captain McClintock turned his course southward into Prince Regent's Inlet, and after several unsuccessful attempts to force his way through Bellot Strait, he determined to winter near its eastern opening. On the 28th of September he began his preparations for wintering, having already made his plans for a systematic search, in the spring, of the western coast of Boothia, of King William's Land, and of that part of Prince of Wales Land which had not been previously examined. The winter was passed in the same dreary routine which has characterized almost every Arctic winter, but McClintock was able to begin his sledge journeys a month earlier than he had anticipated. On the 17th of February he set out on a preliminary exploration toward King William's Land, with a temperature ranging between 31 and 42½ degrees below zero, falling the next day to 48 degrees below zero. On this journey he was absent twenty-five days, and from conversations with the Eskimos some important information was obtained. From their reports it appeared probable that one of Franklin's vessels had been crushed in the ice west of King William's Land, and that the crew landed in safety; and this story derived some confirmation from the possession by the natives of not a few relics of the lost expedition. After obtaining this clew, McClintock returned to the "Fox."

On the 2d of April he started again for a further search; and at or about the same time two other parties, commanded by his two chief officers, were dispatched on the same errand. Two of the expeditions were successful, — the expedition commanded by McClintock in person, and that under Lieutenant Hobson. The former prosecuted his search as far as Montreal Island and the Great Fish River, and then carefully examined the whole southern and western coasts of King William's Land. At various points traces of Sir John Franklin and his companions were found, all tending to confirm the stories told by the natives. On Montreal Island very little, if any, positive evidence remained that Europeans had been there; but on King William's Land the evidence was abundant and conclusive. On the 24th of May McClintock came upon the skeleton of a young man, apparently a steward or an officer's servant, lying face down, just where he had fallen in his weary walk; and a few days later he encamped by the side of a large boat, mounted on a sledge, and "evidently equipped with the utmost care for the ascent of the Great Fish River." The boat contained two skeletons and numerous relics, and had already been examined by Lieutenant Hobson. This officer had previously discovered an account of the lost expedition, written by three of its officers, and giving the most important facts in its history down to April 26, 1848. From this it appears that after Franklin was last seen, while crossing Baffin's Bay, he had pursued a western course, and ascended Wellington Channel to latitude 77°, returning by the west side of Cornwallis Island. His next course is not stated in the record, and has been matter of dispute; but he probably went into Peel Sound, and we know that he was beset in the ice September 12, 1846. Sir John Franklin died on the 11th of June, 1847; and, after having been frozen in for more than a year and a half, the ships were deserted on the 22d of April, 1848, five leagues from Point Victory, on the northwest coast of King William's Land. The survivors, to the number of one hundred and five souls, — so the record stated, — intended to proceed to the Great Fish River. Their ultimate fate is involved in obscurity; but it seems probable that the story told by an old Eskimo woman, that "they fell down and died as they walked along," is true, and that, already weakened by disease and the want of food, they perished from starvation. Having thus settled the question of the fate of Franklin and his companions beyond reasonable doubt, McClintock started on his homeward voyage as soon as the ice would allow, and on the 21st of September, 1859, landed at Plymouth, England.

With the definite solution of the problem as to the existence of a north-



H. M. S.hips Erebus and Terror

Wintered in the Ice in

28 of May 1847 Lat. 70° 5' N Long. 98° 23' W

Having wintered in 1846—7 at Beechey Island in Lat 74° 43' 28" N. Long 91° 39' 15" W after having ascended Wellington Channel to Lat 77° and returned by the West side of Cornwallis Island.

Commander.

Sir John Franklin commanding the Expedition.

All well

Whoever finds this paper is requested to forward it to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London, *with a note of the time and place at which it was found:* or, if more convenient, to deliver it for that purpose to the British Consul at the nearest Port.

Quinconque trouvera ce papier est prié d'y marquer le tems et lieu ou il l'aura trouve, et de le faire parvenir au plutot au Secretaire de l'Amirauté Britannique à Londres.

Cualquiera que hallare este Papel, se le suplica de enviarlo al Secretario del Almirantazgo, en Londrés, con una nota del tiempo y del lugar en donde se halló.

Een ieder die dit Papier mogt vinden, wordt hiermede verzogt, om het zelve, ten spoedigste, te willen zenden aan den Heer Minister van de Marine der Nederlanden in 's Gravenhage, of wel aan den Secretaris der Britsche Admiraliteit, te London, en daar by te voegen eene Nota, inhoudende de tyd en de plaats alwaar dit Papier is gevonden geworden.

Finderen af dette Papiir ombedes, naar Leilighed gives, at sende samme til Admiralitets Secretairen i London, eller nærmeste Embedsmand i Danmark, Norge, eller Sverrig. Tiden og Stœdit hvor dette er fundet önskes venskabeligt paategnet.

Wer diesen Zettel findet, wird hier-durch ersucht denselben an den Secretair des Admiralitets in London einzusenden, mit gefälliger angabe an welchen ort und zu welcher zeit er gefundet worden ist.

Party consisting of 2 Officers and 6 Men left the Ships on Monday 24th May 1847.

Gm. Gore Lieut.

Chas. F. Des Voeux Mate.

1848. HM Ships Terror and Erebus were deserted on the 22nd April. 5 leagues NNW of this having been beset since 12th Sept. 1846. The officers & Crews consisting of 105 souls - under the Command of Captain F. R. M. Crozier landed here - in Lat. 69° 37' 42" Long. 98° 41'. This paper was found by Lt. Irving under the cairn supposed to have been built by Sir James Ross in 1831 - 4 miles to the Northward - where it had been deposited by the late Commander Gore in June 1847. Sir James Ross' pillar has not however been found and the paper has been transferred to this position which is that in which Sir J. Ross' pillar was erected — Sir John Franklin died on the 11 June 1847 and the total loss by deaths in the Expedition has been to this date 9 Officers & 15 Men.

James Fitzjames Captain HMS Erebus

F. R. M. Crozier Captain & Senior Offr.

and start on tomorrow 26th for Backs Fish River

THE DISCOVERED RECORD. (1859.)*

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* [Reproduced from Richardson's *Arctic Regions.* It is given full size in McClintock's narrative. — Ed.]

west passage, and with the discovery of the fate of Sir John Franklin, this chapter naturally ends ; but the thirst for knowledge and the spirit of adventure suffered only a slight abatement by these triumphs of untiring energy and perseverance. To the further exploration of the polar seas and of the adjacent lands Americans have largely contributed ; and Hayes, by his perilous voyage, Hall, by his long residence among the Eskimos,[1] and more recently De Long, by the calmness with which he met a terrible death, to name no others, exhibited a heroism unsurpassed by any of the remarkable men who preceded them. The shapeless America, which was all that Columbus and his immediate followers knew, has put on a clearly defined form, and we can now trace on the map all the northern line of the continent, with its intricate windings, and the size and shape of many of the islands. Much, it is true, remains to be learned ; but it has been often doubted — and the doubt has been a steadily growing one — whether any increase of our geographical or other scientific knowledge can equal in value the costly sacrifices by which alone it can be gained. So long as the present climatic conditions exist, the unvisited north may well remain a closed book.

[1] In his first visit to the Arctic regions Hall discovered numerous relics of Frobisher's voyages, which had been seen by no one but the Eskimos for nearly three centuries. These were carefully gathered up by him and sent to England. Cf. Frobisher's *Three Voyages*, pp. 367–374 ; and *Life with the Eskimaux : the Narrative of Capt. Chas. Francis Hall, 29th May, 1860, to 13th Sept., 1862* (London, 1864), known in the Amer. ed. as *Arctic Researches and Life among the Esquimaux* (N. Y., 1865).

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

By the Editor.

THE only extensive bibliography of the Arctic explorations includes also those of the Antarctic regions, and was published by the Geographical Society of Vienna in 1878 under a double English and German title, — *The Literature on the Polar Regions of the Earth, by Dr. J. Chavanne, Dr. A. Karpf, and F. Chevalier de Le Monnier.* The contents of the book are sometimes obscurely classified, and the proof-reading is far from accurate. It is, however, useful to the student,[1] and it has sections on the maps.

T. R. Jones's *Manual of Greenland*, etc. (London, 1875), prepared by authority for the use of the Nares Expedition, has a list of publications on the Arctic regions beginning with 1818. This list is used and continued by Prof. J. E. Nourse in his *American Explorations in the Ice Zones* (Boston, 1884), and in the official edition, edited by Nourse, of Hall's *Second Arctic Expedition.*

J. C. Pilling, in his *Bibliog. of the Eskimo language* (1887), in searching for books illustrating his special studies, says that he found the best collection in the British Museum, and the next best in the Library of Congress. It is probable that the same inquiry for the broader field of Arctic exploration will produce a corresponding answer.

English and American periodical literature for the last seventy years has been rich in recitals of Arctic experiences, and in discussions of the problems of the Northwest passage and the attainment of the Northern pole. This literature is enumerated, in all but the analysis of the proceedings of learned societies, under suggestive headings, in

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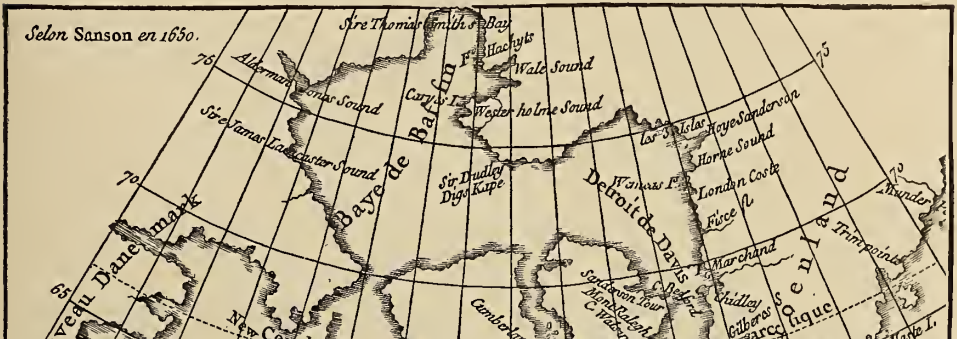
[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. p. 97.

Poole's Index and *Supplement*, though confined to the English language; but the analysis in Chavanne of periodicals, transactions, and public documents embraces all languages. His lists show how constantly such publications, as Bertuch's *Neue Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden* (Weimar, 1817–31), *Journal des Voyages* (Paris, 1818–30), *Annales* (Paris, 1808–14), and *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (Paris, 1819, etc.), *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie* (Paris, 1821, etc.), *Journal of the Royal Geog. Society* (London, 1832–76), *Das Ausland* (Stuttgart, 1829, etc.), — were occupied with the Arctic problem. The later publications were more directly concerned with contemporary results, but their papers were occasionally historical, as in the *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde* of the Berlin Gesellschaft für Erdkunde (1853), *Petermann's Mittheilungen* (Gotha, 1855), and the *Ocean Highways*, *Geographical Review*, and *Geographical Magazine* (London, covering collectively 1869–76).

Up to 1858 there had been, as is stated in John Brown's *Northwest Passage and Search after Sir John Franklin*, from the time of Cabot, about 130 exploring expeditions to the Arctic seas, illustrated by 250 books and printed documents, of which 150 had been issued in England. There is a useful tabular statement of Arctic voyages, northeast and northwest of Greenland, A. D. 860 to 1876, in the appendix of Samuel Richard Van Campen's *Dutch in the Arctic Seas* (London, 1877, vol. i.; vol. ii. never published), which is an examination historically and physically of the north polar problem.[1] A



SANSON, 1666.*

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[1] A variety of maps have been given in this *History* (*ante*, Vols. I., III., IV.) illustrating the early changeful notions respecting the polar regions. Cf. for instance the earliest map of Greenland, 1427 (I., 117); Ruysch, 1508 (II., 115; III., 9); Ptolemy, 1513 (II., 111); Schöner, 1515 (II., 118); Münster, 1532–1545 (III., 201; IV.,

* After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777). Cf. the map in connection with Capt. John Wood's *Voyage for the discovery of a passage by the northeast* (1676) included in *An account of several late Voyages and Discoveries* (London, 1711).

similar tabular presentation is given by Professor Nourse in the governmental quarto commemorating Hall's *Second Arctic Expedition.*

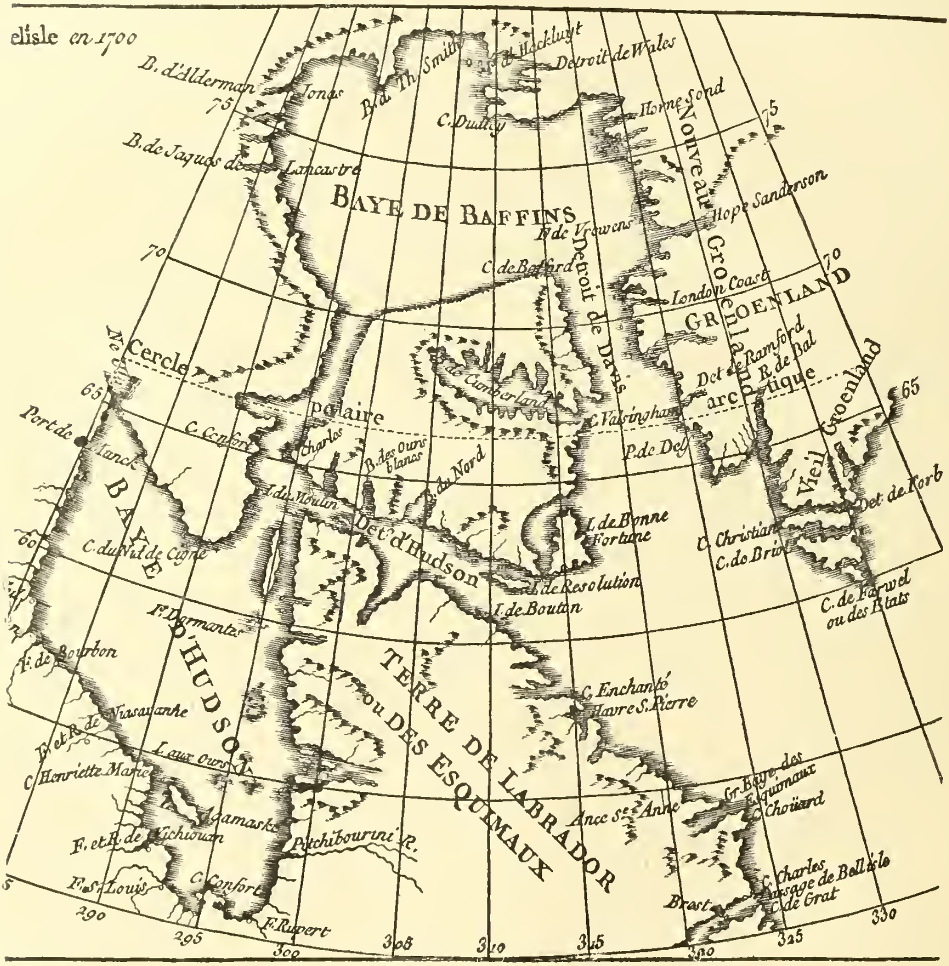
Osborn says that of the 42 expeditions between 1818 and 1859, 128 men and 2 ships were lost.

The comprehensive surveys of the course of Arctic exploration are either grouped as efforts to effect a northwest passage, — so far as they regard America, — or as attempts to attain the pole itself.

One of the earliest summaries of the efforts to solve the problem of reaching Asia by the northern passage is D. Capel's *Vorstellungen des Norden* (Hamburg, 1675).[1]

The second volume of Harris's *Voyages* (London, 1702, 1705; again 1744)[2] follows the history of such attempts to find a northwest passage for the preceding one hundred and thirty years.

J. G. Forster summarized the voyages in the years next following the voyage of Cook, in his *Geschichte der Reisen die seit Cook an der nordwest und nordost Küste von America, unternommen worden sind* (Berlin, 1791).[3]



DELISLE, 1700.*

41, 84); Ulpius Globe, 1542 (IV., 42); Mercator, 1569 (IV., 373); Gilbert, 1576 (III., 203); Frobisher, 1578 (III., 102); Lok, 1582 (III., 40; IV., 44); Hakluyt, 1587 (III., 42); Molineaux, 1592 (III., 90, 91); Judaeis, 1593 (IV., 97); Linschoten, 1598 (III., 101); Quadus, 1600 (IV., 101); Luke Fox, 1632 (III., 98).

[1] Sabin's *Dictionary*, iii. no. 10,735.

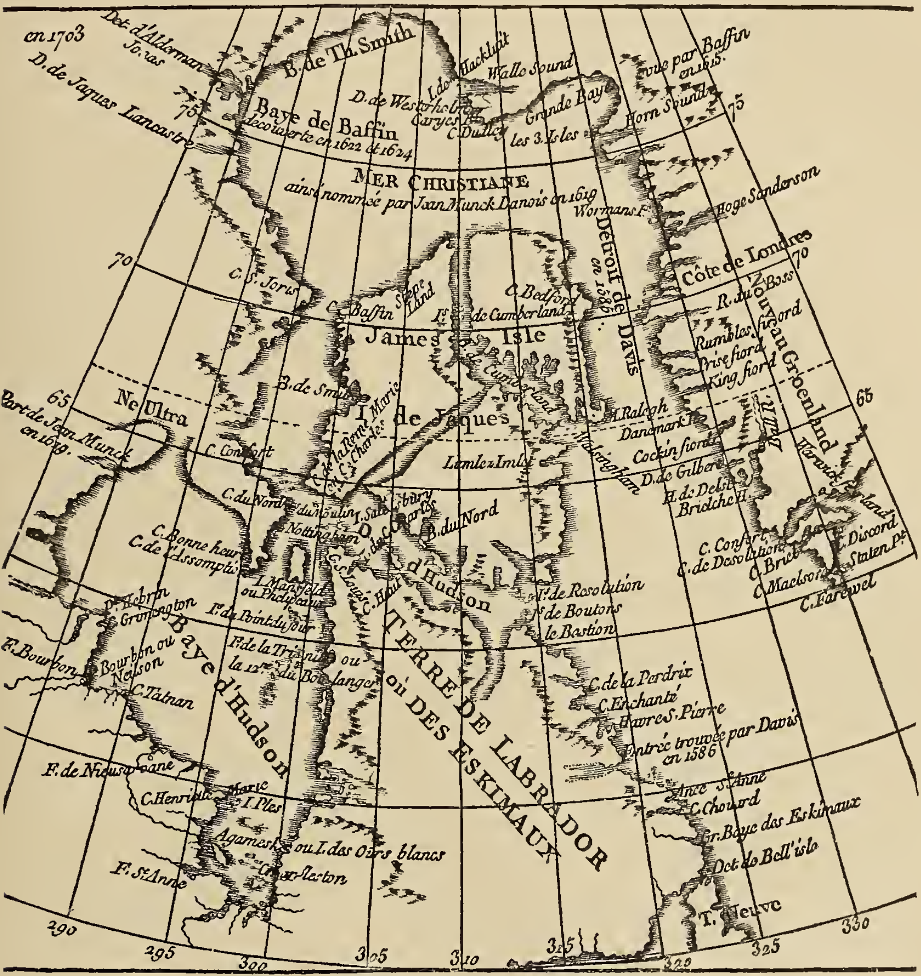
[2] See *ante*, Vol. I. p. xxxiv.

[3] Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. p. xxxvi.

* After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777).

Just at a time when England was making new efforts to pierce the northern zone, incited thereto by the accounts which the elder Scoresby, the whaler, had published of the Greenland seas, and by the urgency of John Barrow, then secretary of the Admiralty, this latter officer published his *Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions* (London, 1818).[1]

It was not till after 1830 that other efforts were made to condense the results of antecedent voyages, when in succession we find W. J. Snelling's *Polar Regions of the Western Continent Explored* (Boston, 1831); a volume in Harper's Family Library called *Narrative of discovery and adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions by John Leslie, Robert Jameson, and Hugh Murray* (N.Y.; 1832); and Patrick Fraser Tytler's *Hist. View of the progress of discovery on the more northern coasts of America* (Edinburgh, 1832), and later included in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library and in



DELISLE, 1703.*

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[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. 97. There was a French translation of it issued at Paris in the following year. Barrow at a later day continued the story in his *Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions, from the Year 1818 to the Present Time: under the Command of the several Naval Officers employed by Sea and Land in Search of a Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; with two attempts to reach the North Pole. Abridged and arranged from the Official Narratives, with Occasional Remarks. By Sir John Barrow, Bart.* (London, 1846).

* After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777). The Herrera of 1728, in its map of North America, shows the general conception of Arctic America during the first quarter of that century.

Harper's Family Library. It also appeared with a continuation by R. M. Ballantyne as *The Northern coasts of America and the Hudson's Bay Territory* (London, 1854).

Through the course of these explorations there have been recurrent attempts to square theoretical views by the recorded results, generally towards the settlement of the question touching the desirability of further efforts. In 1836 we find Barrow, Richardson, Franklin, and Ross all considering the question, with this aim, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (vol. vi. 34, etc.).

Captain Beechey in 1843, in his *Voyage*, epitomized the earlier discoveries, while Barrow followed in his supplemental book (1846) already mentioned.

The interest in the Franklin search gave rise to new summaries: P. L. Simmond's *Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Regions* (Lond., 1851, — 2d ed.); Epes Sargent's *Arctic Adventure by Sea and Land* (Boston, 1857), which was again issued as *Wonders of the Arctic World* (Philad., 1873), with an additional chapter on later discoveries; and Sir J. Leslie's *Polar Seas and Regions* (Lond., 1855; N. Y., 1859).

There soon followed some more important books. John Brown published his *Northwest Passage and the plans for the Search for Sir John Franklin* (London, 1858, 1860), and Sir John Richardson his *Polar Regions* (Edinburgh, 1861). This last book is a summary of the knowledge then attained, with a review of the progress of discovery both towards the north and south poles, and is enlarged upon an article which he communicated to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.[1]

C. R. Markham's *Threshold of the Unknown Regions* (London, 1873, 2d ed.) is partly a reprint of a series of articles in *Ocean Highways*. This book, which rehearses the story of polar explorations down to 1873, is considered one of the most successful summaries.[2]

It is enough barely to mention some of the later comprehensive surveys: David Murray Smith's *Arctic Expeditions* (Edinburgh, 1875, etc.), and *Recent Polar Voyages, 1848–1876* (London, 1876). Two German works need to be mentioned: Friedrich von Hellwald's *Im ewigen Eis. Geschichte der Nordpol-fahrten von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1879); and Wilhelm Rubiner's *Die Entdeckungsreisen in alter und neuer Zeit. Eine Geschichte der geographischen Entdeckungen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des 19. Jahrhunderts, von Gerhard Stein* (Glogau, 1883).

The separate recitals of the Arctic explorers class themselves easily by their efforts to find the passage to Asia, and by the search for Franklin in his efforts to that end; as well as by an emulating purpose to approach more nearly than before the pole, if not to attain it.

The attempts to find the passage, so long the equivalent of a search for the Straits of Anian,[3] are mixed up with the geographical vagaries of De Fonte and the rest (of which we can see the effects in the maps of Buache and Jefferys), and were conducted both on the side of the Pacific and on the side of Baffin's and Hudson's bays. Some of the early accounts of combats with the ice in these high latitudes have come down to us in the books that usually show in their thumbing the popularity of their narratives. The creation of the Hudson Bay Company was made on the ostensible ground in part of organizing such a search from the regions brought under their control.[4] It was not till well into the century following its incorporation that the efforts, since the days of Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson, were of any importance on this side. One of the volumes published by the Hakluyt Society chronicles the rising interest: *The Geography of Hudson's Bay; being the Remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many Voyages to that Locality, between the Years 1727 and 1751. With an appendix, containing Extracts from the log of Capt. Middleton on his Voyage for the Discovery of the North-west Passage in H. M. S. "Furnace" in 1741–2. Edited by John Barrow, Esq.* (London, 1852).

To this may be added, as indicating the contemporary study of the problem: *A description of the coast, tides, and currents in Button's Bay, being the North-west coast of Hudson's Bay; also from the discoveries made in 1742 . . . by Captain Middleton and Captain Moor, showing from their journals, a probability that there is a passage from thence to the Western Ocean* (London, 1745 [?]).

An Account of a Voyage for a Discovery of a North West Passage by Hudson's Straights to the Western and Southern Ocean of America, performed in the Year 1746 and 1747 in the Ship

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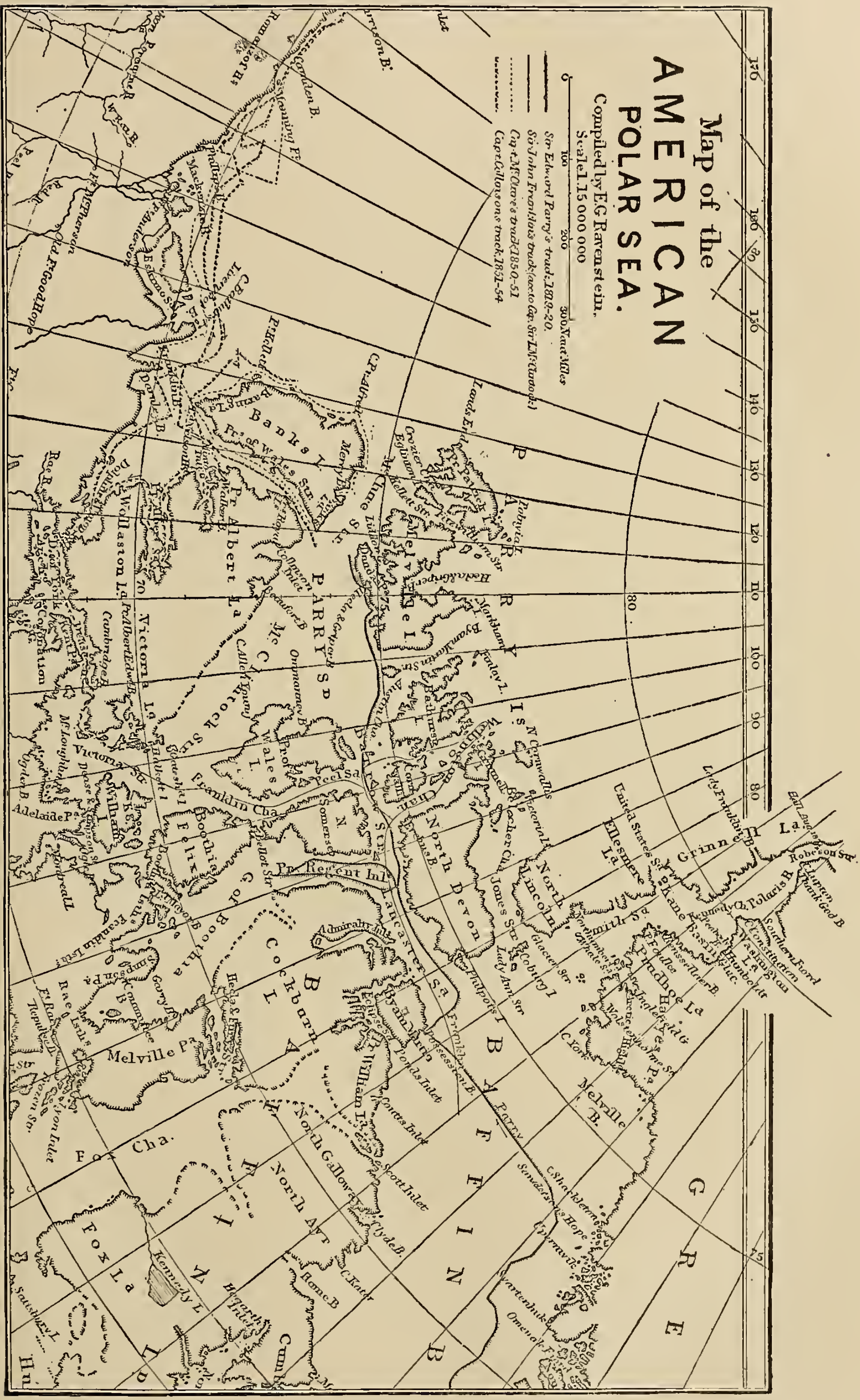
[1] There is a life of Richardson by M'Ilraith (1868).

[2] J. A. MacGahan, in his *Under the Northern Lights* (London, 1876), speaks of it as "the only intelligent synopsis of Arctic knowledge" published up to that time.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. II. 468, etc.

[4] See *ante*, ch. i.

NOTE. — The opposite map is a part of that in C. R. Markham's *Threshold of the Unknown Regions* (1873). The same book contains six charts of the Smith Sound route, from Bylot and Baffin to Hall, 1616–1873, compiled by E. G. Ravenstein. Cf. the maps in Lamont's *Yachting in the Arctic Seas* (London, 1876).


Map of the
AMERICAN
POLAR SEA.
Compiled by E.G. Ravenstein.
Scale 1:15 000 000
0 100 200 300 Naut. Miles
Sir Edward Parry's track 1819-20.
Sir John Franklin's track (acc. to Cap. Sir L.M'Clintock.)
Capt. M'Clure's track 1850-51
Capt. Collinson's track 1851-54
PARRY IS
Banks L.
Melville I.
Prince Patrick I.
Victoria La.
Wollaston La.
Pr. Albert La.
Prince of Wales Str.
McClintock Str.
Parry Sd.
Prince of Wales I.
Victoria Str.
Franklin Cha.
Boothia Felix
G. of Boothia
Cockburn La.
Melville Pa.
Fox Cha.
Fox La.
BAFFIN LA.
BAFFIN B.
North Devon
Lancaster Sd.
Pr. Regent Inl.
Jones Sd.
N. Cornwallis
North Lincoln
Ellesmere La.
Grinnell La.
Smith Sd.
Kane Basin
Kennedy Ch.
Robeson Ch.
Prudhoe La.
Washington La.
Humboldt Gl.
Melville B.
C. York
GREENLAND
King William I.
Adelaide Pa.
Wellington Cha.
Barrow Str.
Peel Sd.
North Somerset
Admiralty Inl.
Ponds Inlet
Scott Inlet
Clyde R.
Home B.
Cumberland
Lands End
Kellett Str.
Byam Martin Ch.
Cornwallis I.
Bathurst I.
Dolphin & Union Str.
Mackenzie R.
Fort Good Hope
C. Bathurst
Liverpool B.
Cambridge B.
Hecla & Fury Str.
Repulse B.
Rae Isthmus
Upernivik
Sanderson's Hope
Kennedy L.
Hogarth Inlet
Southampton I.
Lady Franklin B.
United States
Polaris B.
70
75
80
90
100
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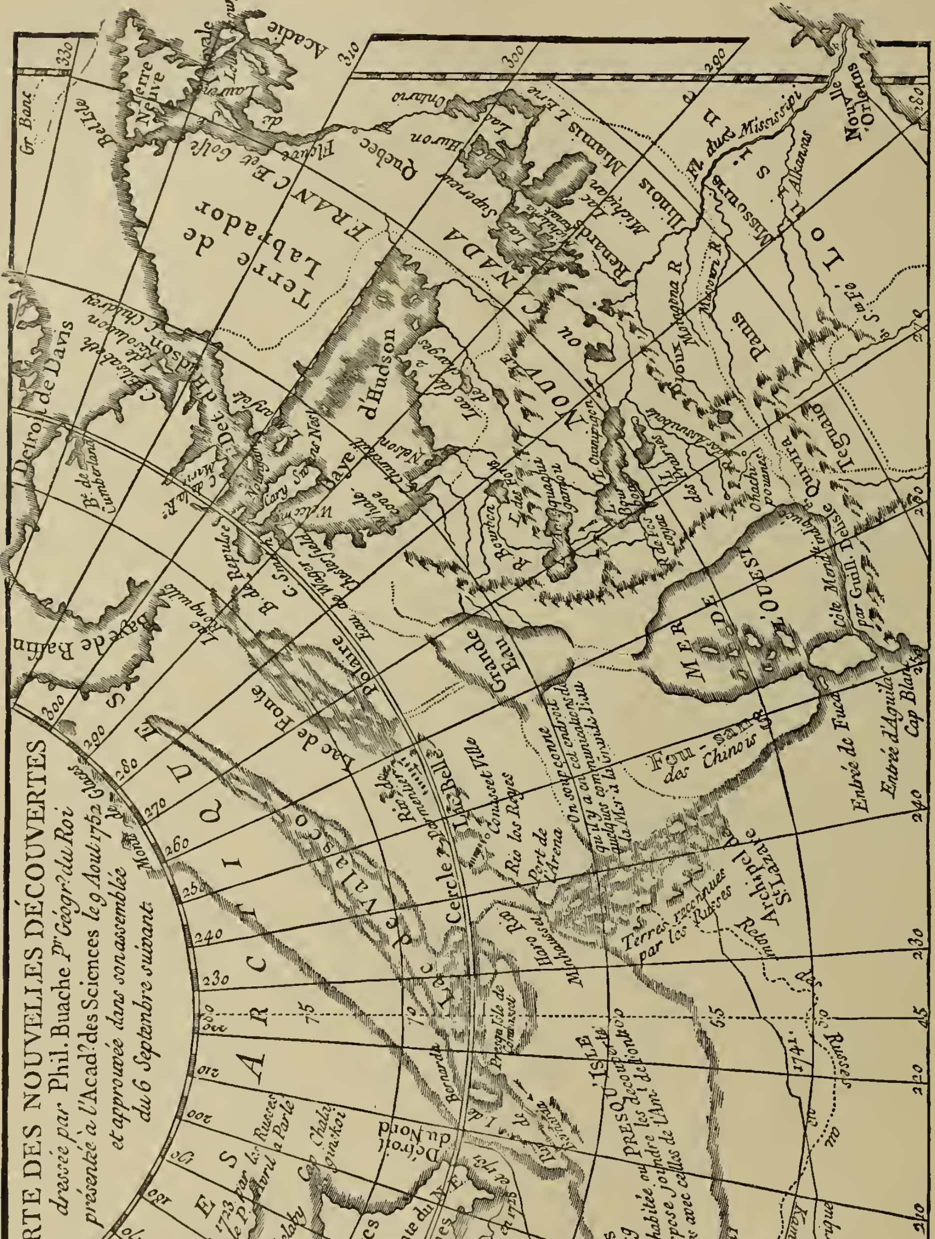


BUACHE'S THEORY OF 1752.*

* After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777). Delisle's map (1752) is in G. F. Müller's *Voyages from Asia to America* as translated by T. Jefferys, 2d ed. (London, 1764). Buache's map of De Fonte's route and Danville's of Cook's and Maldonado's, are in Laborde's *Hist. Abrégée de la Mer du Sud* (Paris, 1791), vol. i. Cf. also Venegas' *Noticia de la California* (Madrid, 1757). Ross's *Narrative of a Second Voyage* (London, 1835) contrasts Baffin's and the alleged De Fuca and De Fonte notions of the Arctic geography with those of Ross's time.

California, Captain Francis Smith, Commander. By the Clerk of the California [Theodore Swaine Drage]. *Adorned with Cuts and Maps* (London, 1748).

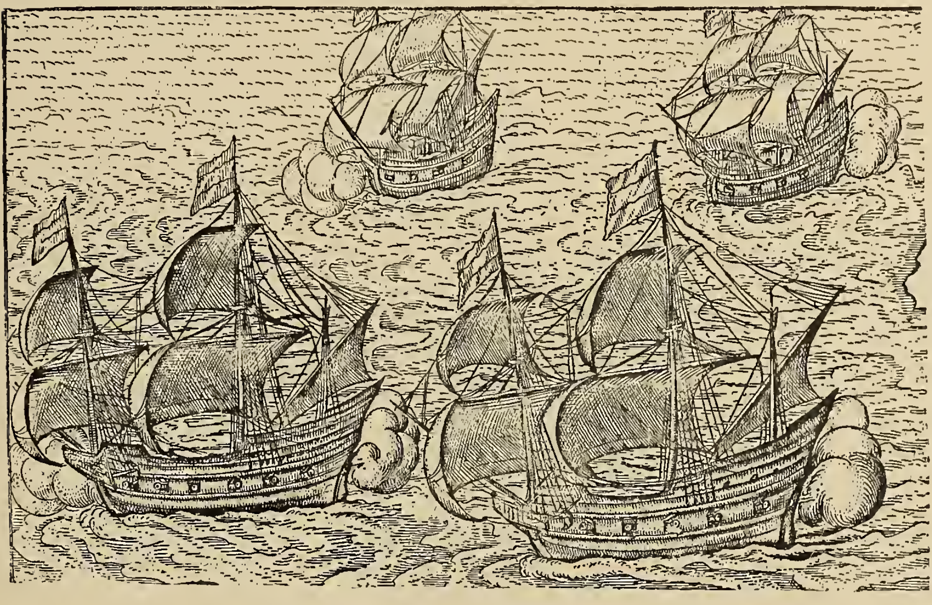
Henry Ellis's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California* (*under Moor and Smith*) *in 1746–7, for discovering a North-West Passage, with an historical account of the efforts hitherto made for the finding that passage* (London, 1748).[1]

Reasons to shew that there is a great probability of a navigable passage to the Western American Ocean through Hudson's Straights and Chesterfield Inlet (London, 1749), which contains affidavits of Henry Ellis and Jeremiah Westall.

Ellis formulated his views in his *Considerations of the great advantage which would arise from the North West Passage* (London, 1750).

On the side of the Pacific, the chief interest attaches to the famous expedition of Capt. James Cook, which is elaborately chronicled in *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Undertaken by the Command of his Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere. To Determine the Position and Extent of the West Side of North America; its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. Performed under the Direction of Captains Cook, Clarke, and Gove, in his Majesty's ships the Resolution and Discovery. In the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. In three Volumes. Vol. I. and II. written by Captain James Cook; Vol. III. by Captain James King. Illustrated with Maps and Charts from the Original Drawings made by Lieut. Henry Roberts, under the Direction of Capt. Cook. Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1784).

The bibliography of the attempts to explore from the North Pacific is given in Chavanne's *Lit. über die Polarregionen* (pp. 188, 286), and



AN ARCTIC FLEET, 1600.*

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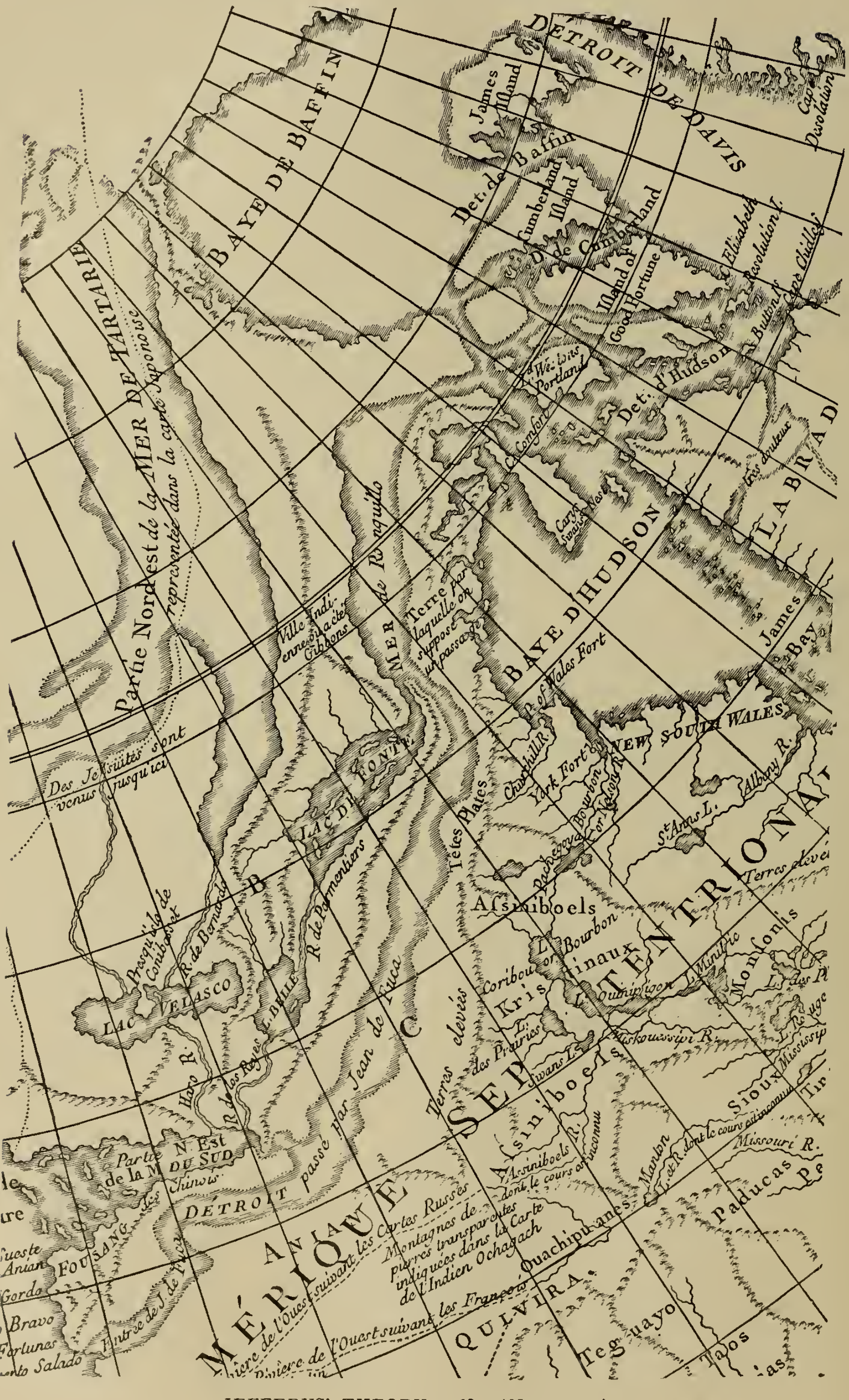
[1] Beside the London editions of 1748, 1749, there was a reprint in Dublin in 1749; French editions at Paris (1749) and Leyden (1750); a Dutch edition at Leyden (1750), and a German at Göttingen (1750). Cf. Carter-Brown, iii., nos. 875, 900, 901, 926, 927, 928.

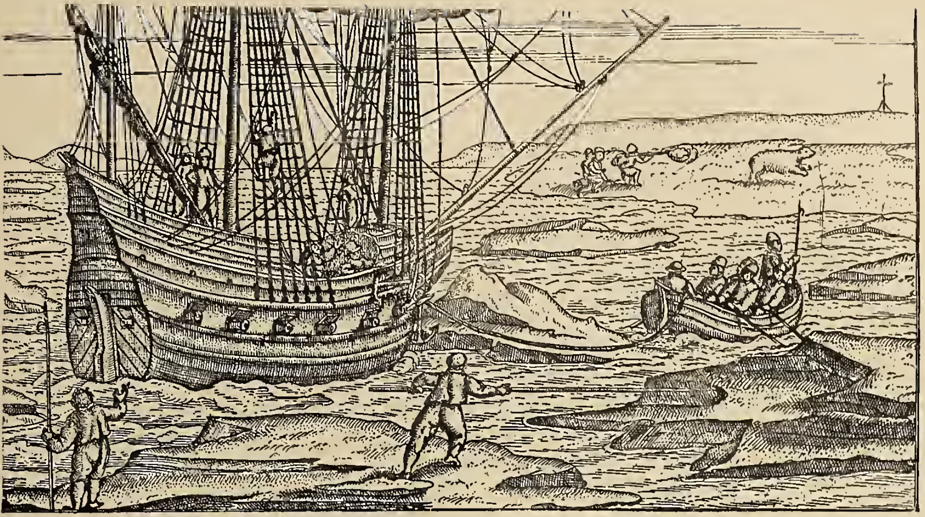
NOTE TO THE MAP ON P. 112. — After a plate in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777). There are also Jefferys' maps dated 1753 and 1776. Other schemes of these fantastic notions will be found in the map in Harris's *Voyages* (London, 1705), vol. i., with its lake of Thongo or Thoya; and in that accompanying William Doyle's *Some Account of the British Dominions beyond the Atlantic, particularly the important question about the North West Passage* (London, 1770).

Cf. the maps of Samuel Engel, which are repeated in his *Mémoires* (Lausanne, 1765), *Geog. Nachrichten* (Leipzig, 1772), and his *Extraits raisonnés* (Lausanne, 1779).

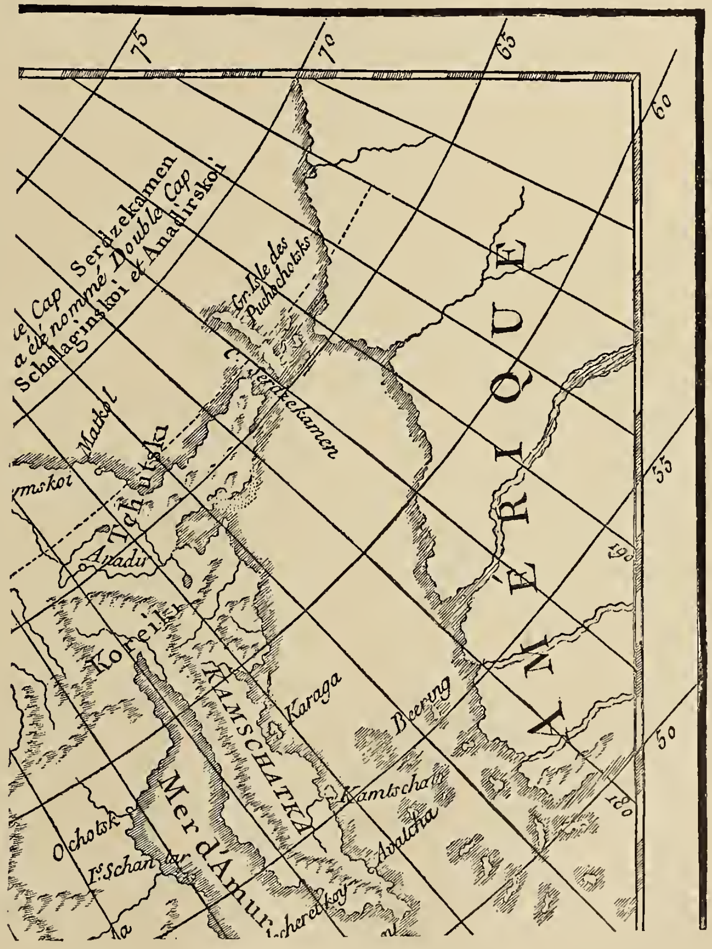
* From Gerrit de Veer's (Gerard le Ver's) *Vraye description de trois Voyages, faicts en trois ans* (Amsterdam, "M.VIc" = 1600), to the north as high as 80° N. L., where he speaks of a country "lequel on presume estre Groenlande." This volume has some curious engravings showing the experience of Arctic voyaging at this early date.



JEFFERYS' THEORY, 1768. (*Note*, p. 111.)



TOWING THROUGH THE ICE, 1600.*



BEHRING'S STRAITS, 1772.†

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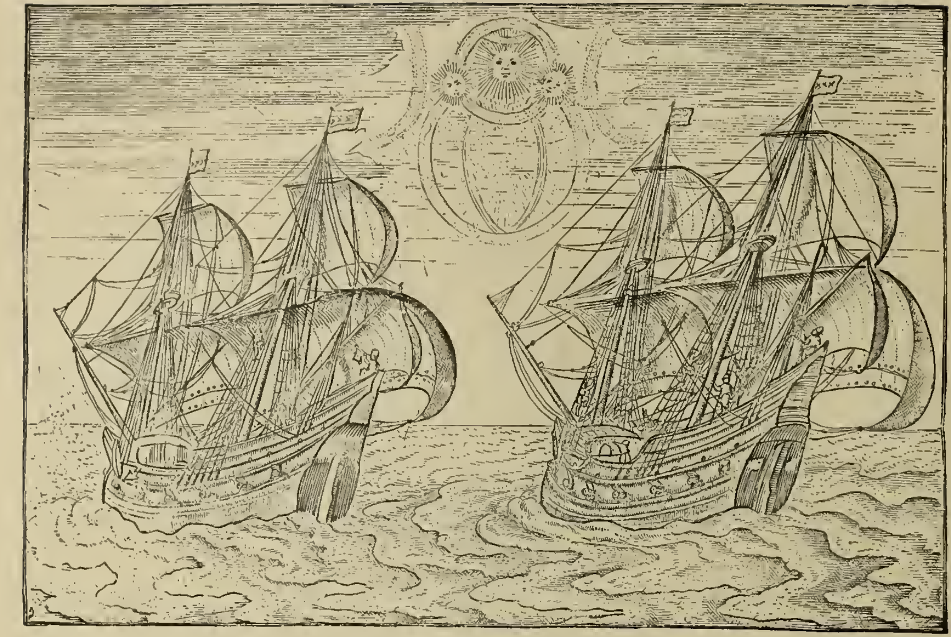
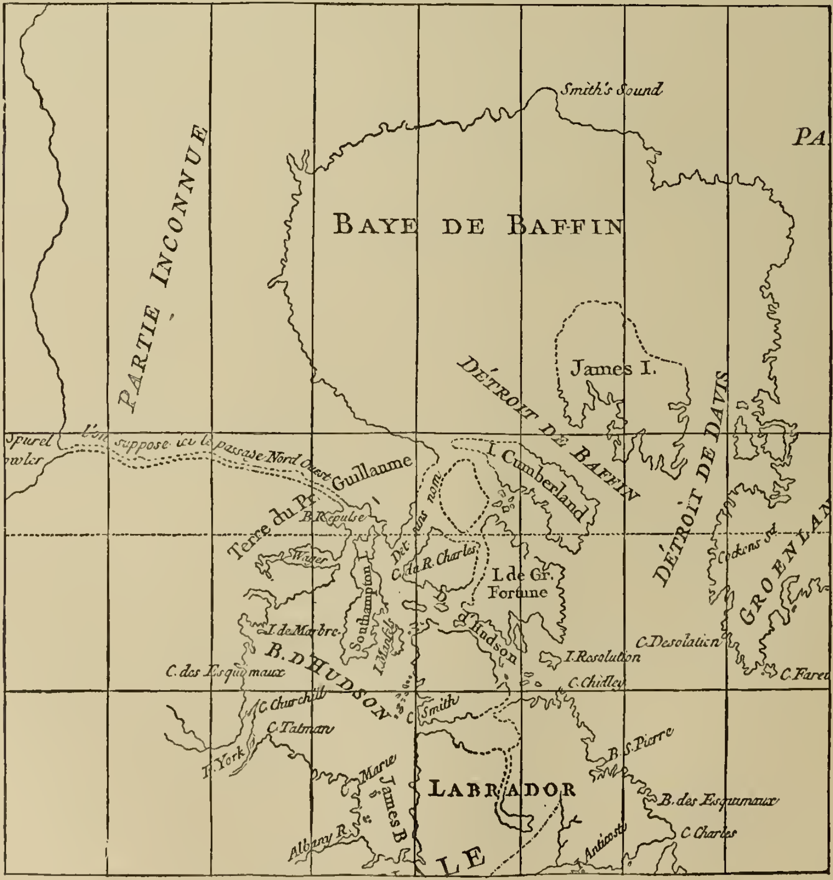
* From Gerrit de Veer's *Vraye Description* (Amsterdam, 1600).

† Part of the map in the French *Encyclopédie* (1777) illustrating the article on the north passage to India, and given in its *Suite du Recueil de planches.* This represents the knowledge that Cook was sent to increase.



ARCTIC PHENOMENA, 1600.*



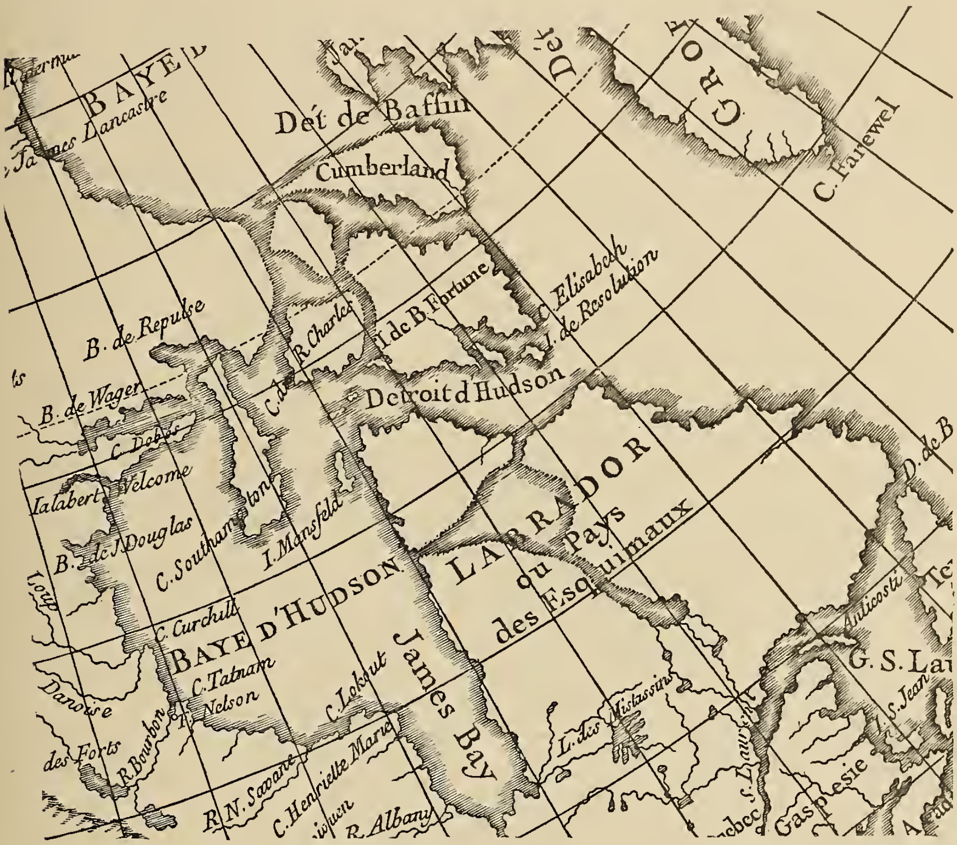
CLUNY'S AMERICAN TRAVELLER, 1769.†

* From Gerrit de Veer's *Vraye Description* (Amsterdam, 1600).

† After a reproduction in the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777).

there is an early summary of the matter in *A Concise Account of Voyages for the Discovery of a North West Passage, Undertaken for finding a new Way to the East Indies. With Reflections on the Practicability of gaining such a Passage. By a Sea Officer* (London, 1782).

During the latter part of the eighteenth century there were little or no positive additions to the knowledge which the geographers had of the higher American North, and the varying theories and reduplicated notions which prevailed may be traced in the maps of such representative compilers as Cluny, Vaugondy, and Forster, — not to name others. There were at the same time some positive experiences recorded, as by Samuel Hearne in his *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, for the discovery of a North West Passage, etc., 1769–72* (London, 1795); with some commercial prophecy, as in John Meare's *Voyages in the Years 1788–9, from China to the North-west Coast of America, with Observations on the Probable Existence of a North-west Passage, and Account of the Trade between the North-west Coast of America and China* (London, 1790).[1]



VAUGONDY, 1772.*

It was in 1817 and 1818 that the interest was revived, in a way that has been maintained ever since in a remarkable manner. One of the earliest of these new discussions, but before the new interest was fairly developed, is in Bernard O'Reilly's *Greenland, the adjacent seas and the N. W. passage to the Pacific Ocean, illustrated in a voyage to Davis's Strait in 1817* (Lond., 1818). His map indicates how there had grown up, as to the traditionary views of Baffin, a distrust, which it was the work of the rising interest to dispel.

No effort attracted much attention, however, till Capt. John Ross, of the royal navy, published his *Voyage of Discovery, made under the Orders of the Admiralty, in his Majesty's Ships Isabella*

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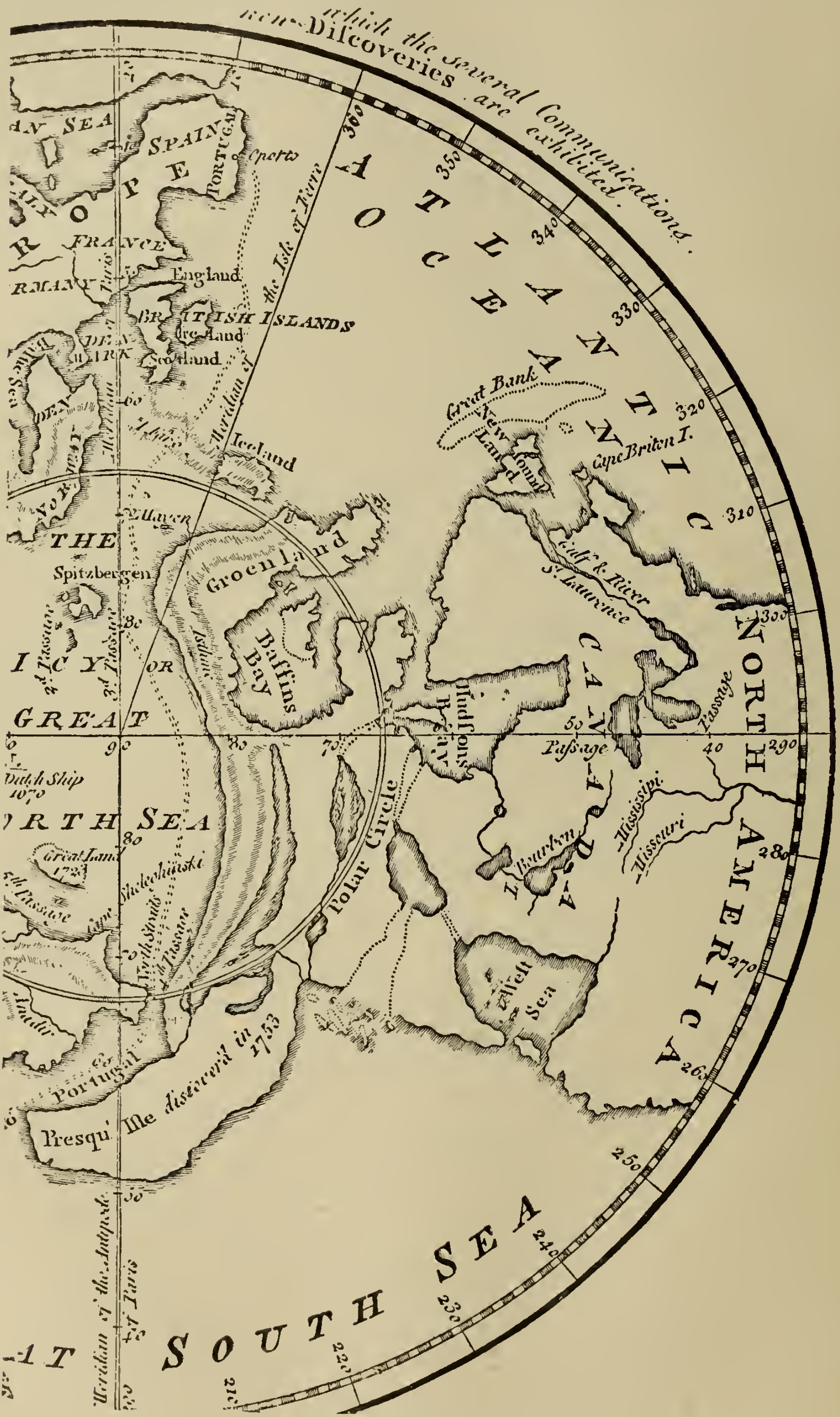
[1] There was a French translation, Paris, 1775, and a German, Berlin, 1796, with annotations by J. G. Forster.

* After the *Encyclopédie, Suite du Recueil de planches* (Paris, 1777).

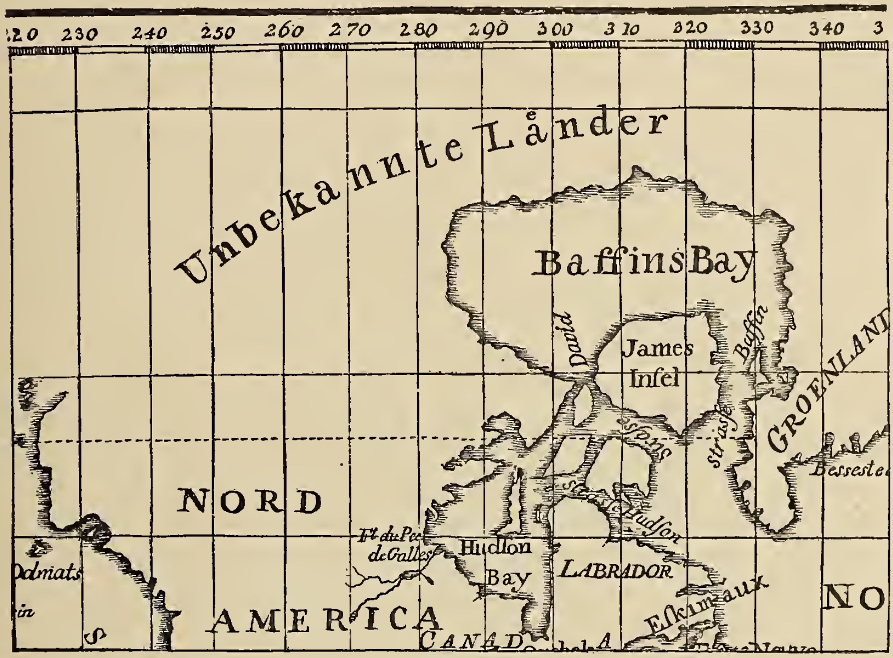


POLAR REGIONS, 1774.

and Alexander, for the Purpose of exploring Baffin's Bay, and enquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage (London, 1819).[1]

Capt. Wm. Edward Parry, of the British navy, having commanded the "Alexander" of Ross's fleet, had published a personal narrative of that expedition in his *Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions, Apr.–Nov., 1818* (London, 1819), and was put in command of a new expedition the next year, of which he gave record in his *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; performed in the Years 1819–20, in his Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper. With an Appendix, containing the Scientific and Other Observations. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1821).[2]

Capt. John Franklin conducted at the same time an overland expedition, which was printed as a *Narrative of a journey to the Shores of the*



ARCTIC REGIONS, 1782.*

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[1] There was a second edition the same year; a German translation at Jena in 1819; a French at Paris in 1819, 1821, and 1822; a Dutch at the Hague in 1821. A later English edition (1834) is not complete. There grew out of this publication a controversy represented in Edward Sabine's *Remarks on the account of the late Voyage of Discovery to Baffin's Bay, published by J. Ross* (London, 1819; two eds.), and Ross's *Explanation of Sabine's Remarks* (London, 1819). Ross's map shows his development of the geography of Baffin's Bay.

[2] This is usually accompanied by a reprint of a paper published on the ships: *The North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle* (London, 1821). Both were reprinted in Philadelphia (1821); a German version appeared at Hamburg, 1822, and a Dutch at Amsterdam, 1821, 1832.

A correlative account is Alexander Fisher's *Journal of a Voyage in the Hecla and Griper*, 1819–1820 (London, 1821).

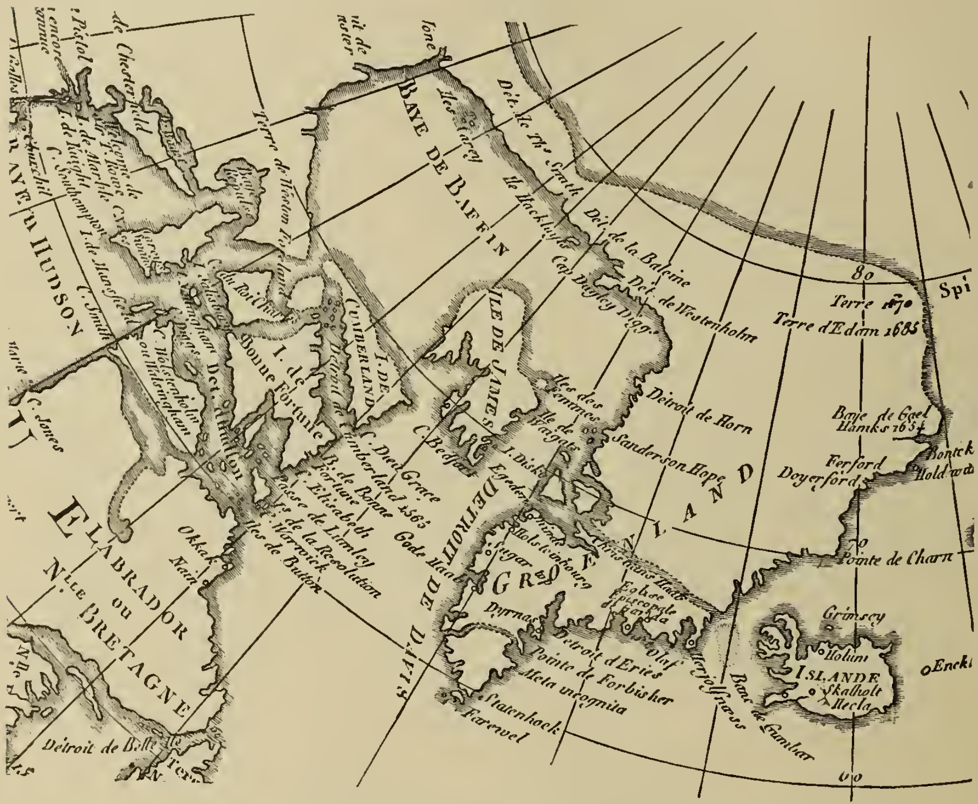
NOTE.— The opposite map is a part of the map given in *The Journal of a Voyage by the Hon. Commodore Phipps*, etc. (London, 1774).

* From *Historische, Statistische, Geographische Belustigungen* (Leipzig, 1782). The shape of Baffin's Bay here given accorded with a prevalent notion. Cf. Harris's *Voyages* (1705), vol. ii., and Prévost's *Voyages*, xv., and the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xvii. (1758). Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. 132; Gerard Mercator's Circumpolar map in Engel's *Neuer Versuch* (Basel, 1777); and that in E. A. W. von Zimmermann's *Die Erde und ihre Bewohner, Dritter Theil. Die westliche arctische Welt* (Leipzig, 1811).

Polar Sea, 1819–1822, by John Franklin, Commander of the Expedition (London, 4° and 8°, 1823 and 1824 — 3 eds.).[1]

The accounts of Parry's next explorations were presented in his *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; performed in the Years 1821–22–23, in his Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1824),[2] and this was followed by his *Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; performed in the Years 1824–25, in his Majesty's Ships Hecla and Fury. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1826).[3]

A coöperating voyage by Capt. F. W. Beechey, on the Pacific side, is recorded in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions; per-*



ARCTIC REGIONS, 1783. (*J. R. Forster.*)

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[1] Reprinted (Philad., 1824). An ed. in 4 vols., to which was added a *Brief account of the second Journey, in 1825–27*, was published at London, 1829. Franklin's *Narrative of a second Expedition to the Shores of a Polar Sea, 1825–27*, was published in London, 1828, and reprinted in Philadelphia the same year. A German translation appeared at Weimar in 1829.

A. H. Beesly's *Sir John Franklin* (N. Y., 1881) is based on Franklin's narratives and on the monograph on Franklin by M. de la Roquette (Paris, 1860).

[2] It was reprinted in New York (1824), and Sabin gives a German version (Jena, 1824). Growing out of the same explorations, we have two further records by Captain G. F. Lyon: —

The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon of H. M. S. Hecla, during the Recent Voyage of Discovery under Captain Parry (London, 1824). Reprinted, London, 1825, and Boston, 1824. It is of value as respects the characteristics of the Eskimos.

A Brief Narrative of an Unsuccessful Attempt to reach Repulse Bay, through Sir Thomas Rowe's "Welcome," in his Majesty's Ship Griper, in the Year MDCCCXXIV. (London, 1825). This is his official report.

[3] It was reprinted in Philadelphia (1826), and a German version was published at Jena, 1827. His *Three Voyages* was later included in Harper's Family Library (N. Y., 1840). Parry's narratives are of importance in the study of the Eskimos. Cf. Edward Parry's *Memoirs of W. E. Parry* (London, 1857).

formed in his Majesty's Ship Blossom, in the Years 1825, 26, 27, 28. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty (London, 1831).[1]

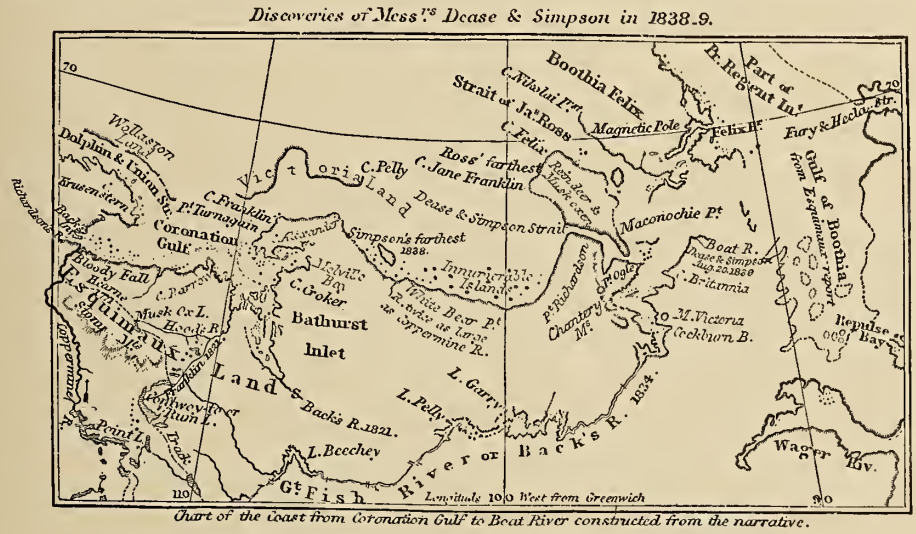
David Duncan's *Voyage to Davis' Strait, Apr. 1826–June, 1827* (London, 1827), commemorates "the only fishing ship that ever [up to that time] passed a whole winter with her crew on board in those regions."

Ross again appears in a *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions during the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833. Including the Reports of Commander, now Captain, James Clark Ross, and the Discovery of the Northern Magnetic Pole.* [With an Appendix.] (London, 1835).[2]

Captain George Back now proposed an expedition to follow a route north from the Great Slave Lake, in search for Ross, and published an explanation of his plan in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (1833, vol. iii. 64); and his communication on the route followed by him was made in the same *Journal* (1836, vol. vi. p. 1), and found a wider public in his *Narrative of the Arctic land Expedition* to the mouth of the Great Fish River and along the shores of the Arctic Ocean in the years 1833–35 (London, 1836; Philad., 1836). Richard King, in his *Journey to the Arctic Ocean, 1833–35, under Capt. Back* (London, 1836), reproaches that commander for his want of generosity in not acknowledging the assistance he received from others. Back's next voyage to follow up his first exploration is recorded in his *Narrative of an Expedition in H. M. S. Terror, undertaken with a View to Geographical Discovery on the Arctic shores, in the Years 1836–7* (London, 1838).

The explorations by Dease and Simpson on behalf of the Hudson Bay Company now followed, and it was to connect these with the coast that Parry in 1819 had found about Melville Island, which induced the expedition under Sir John Franklin, the search for which constituted for the next ten years, and even longer, the chief burden of the Arctic recitals.

Richardson, in his *Polar Regions* (ch. 10), gives a convenient summary of this Franklin search.



DISCOVERIES OF DEASE AND SIMPSON, 1838–39.*

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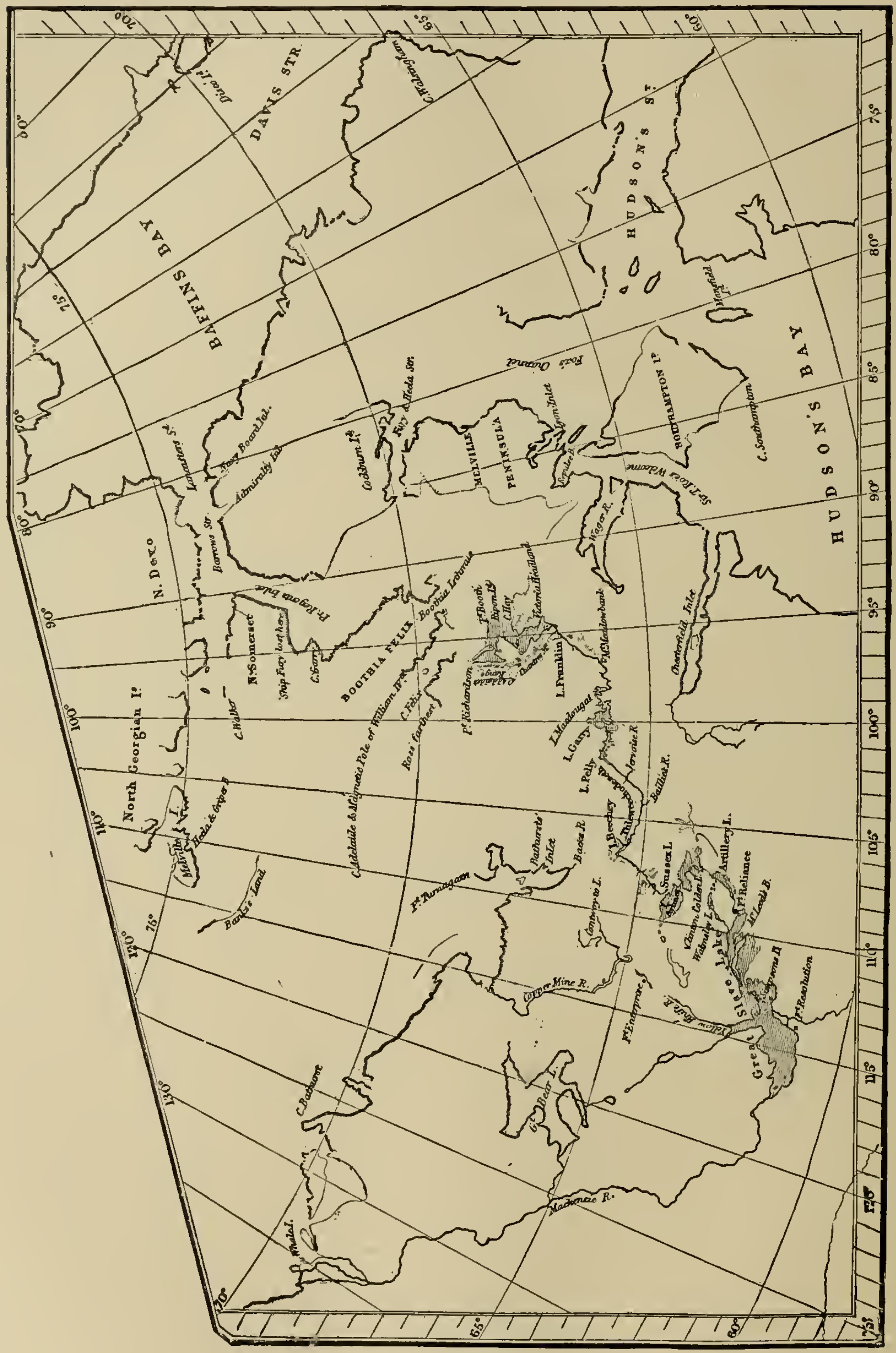
[1] There was an octavo edition the same year. It was reprinted at Philadelphia (1832), and Sabin gives a German version (Weimar, 1832). Beechey's earlier voyage (1818), recorded in his *Voyage of Discovery towards the North pole* (London, 1843), was on the side of Spitzbergen.

[2] The Appendix usually is found as a separate publication, *Appendix to the Narrative of a Second Voyage.* The *Narrative* was reprinted in Philadelphia, 1835; and at Brussels in the same year. A French translation appeared at Paris in 1835, and a German at Leipzig in 1835 and 1845, and at Berlin in 1835–36. Cf. Pilling's *Eskimo Bibliog.*; Sabin's *Dictionary*, and references in Allibone, ii. 119.

* From the *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, x. 274. Their eastern limit was later completed by Dr. John Rae, in the Hudson Bay Company's service, as recorded in Rae's *Narrative of an Expedition to the Shores of the Arctic Sea in 1846 and 1847* (London, 1850). Cf. *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* (viii. 213, with a map) for their account of their explorations, 1837, and again (*Ibid.*, Aug., 1839) for the progress of discovery in the summer of 1839, with a map.



ARCTIC REGIONS, 1833–34.*

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* Extracted from a map in Back's "Discoveries and Route of the Arctic Land Expedition, 1833–34," in the *Journal of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vi. p. 10. Cf. the circumpolar map in Wm. Scoresby's *Acc. of the Arctic Regions* (Edinburgh, 1820), and the map connecting the discoveries of Ross, Parry, and Franklin, in Frank-

The literature of it is enumerated in Chavanne's bibliography, under the heads of "Arctic America," the "Northwest Passage;" and Nourse, in his *American Explorations in the Ice Zones* (Boston, 1884, p. 34, etc.), makes a useful tabulation of the various relief expeditions.

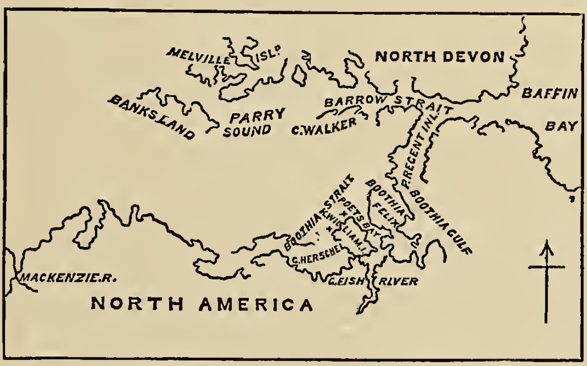
It is not intended now to mention more than the most prominent or characteristic accounts of these numerous adventures in the track of Franklin. W. J. S. Pullen's *Proceedings of a boat expedition from Wainwright inlet to Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River, July–Oct., 1849*, and Lieut. W. H. Hooper's *Journal*, in connection with the same expedition, were printed by the Admiralty in 1850, as well as Pullen's later *Proceedings of the party towards Cape Bathurst in search of Sir John Franklin, July–Oct., 1850*, printed in 1851.

Dr. Peter C. Sutherland's *Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits, in the Years 1850–1851, performed by H. M. Ships "Lady Franklin" and "Sophia," under the Command of Mr. William Penny, in search of the missing Crews of H. M. Ships Erebus and Terror: with a Narrative of Sledge Excursions on the Ice of Wellington Channel; and Observations on the Natural History and Physical Features of the Countries and Frozen Seas visited* (London, 1852). The author was the surgeon of the expedition.

From Berthold Seeman, the naturalist of the expedition, we have a *Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Herald during the Years 1845–51, under the Command of Captain Henry Kellett; being a Circumnavigation of the Globe, and three Cruizes to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin* (London, 1853.)[1]

Captain Sherard Osborn, who commanded the "Pioneer" in the expedition of 1850–51, gives his personal narrative in his *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal, or Eighteen Months in the Polar Regions* (London, 1852; Edinburgh, 1865),[2] and for the first time described Arctic navigation under steam. He also worked up the logs and journals of the commander of the expedition, and published the result as *The Discovery of the Northwest Passage by H. M. S. Investigator, Capt. Robert M'Clure, 1850–54* (London, 1856, 1857, 1859; Edinburgh, 1864, 1865).[3]

Sir John Richardson's personal share in these explorations is recorded in his *Arctic Searching Expedition: Journal of a boat voyage through Rupert's Land and the Arctic Sea in search of Sir John Franklin. Published by authority* (London, 1851).[4]



CONDITION OF EXPLORATIONS, 1844.*

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[1] There is a German translation (Hannover, 1853).

[2] It was reprinted in New York in 1852, and a rival edition was called *The Polar Regions, or a Search after Sir John Franklin's Expedition* (N. Y., 1854).

[3] The coöperating expedition on the side of Behring's Straits is to be explained in a book not yet published, *Sir Richard Collinson's Journal of the Voyage of H. M. S. Enterprise in search of Sir John Franklin, with an Introduction by Maj.-Gen. Collinson* (London, 1889).

[4] It was reprinted in New York, 1852, and contains several chapters on the Eskimos and other northern tribes.

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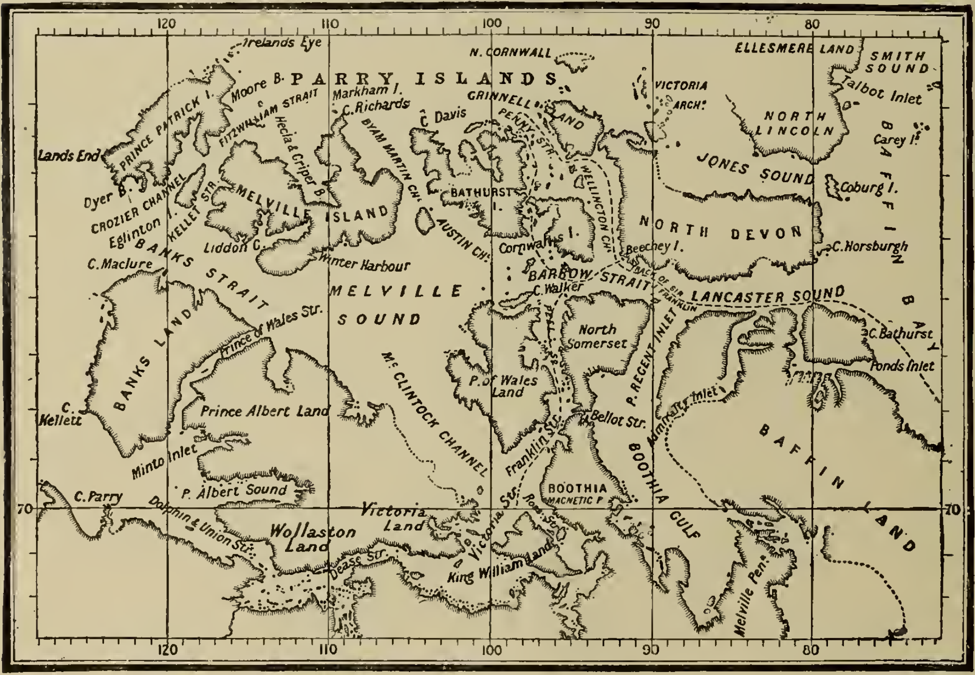
lin's *Narrative* (London, 1823). Dr. Rae's *Narrative of an Expedition to the shores of the Arctic Sea in 1846 and 1847* (London, 1850) contains maps in which the discoveries of Rae, Parry, Ross, Back, and Dease and Simpson are distinctively marked.

* Reproduced from the sketch map given by Osborn in his *Stray Leaves* (1865), p. 282, which represents the aspect of the northwest passage problem at the time Franklin was sent on his last voyage. The effort was to be made "to connect the water in which Parry had sailed to Melville Island in 1819 with Dease and Simpson's easternmost positions in 1838." Cf. the map of the Arctic regions as known in 1846, given in Hall's *Second Arctic Expedition.*

Geo. F. McDougall's *Eventful Voyage of H. M. Discovery Ship "Resolute" to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin and the missing Crews of H. M. Discovery Ships "Erebus" and "Terror," 1852, 1853, 1854. To which is added an Account of her being fallen in with by an American Whaler after her Abandonment in Barrow Straits and of her Presentation to Queen Victoria by the Government of the United States* (London, 1857).

Sir Edward Belcher's *Last of the Arctic Voyages; being a Narrative of the Expedition in H. M. S. Assistance, in Search of Sir John Franklin, during the Years 1852–53–54. With Notes on the Natural History, by Sir John Richardson, Professor Owen, Thomas Bell, J. W. Salter, and Lovell Reeve. Published under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London, 1855).

What is known as the first Grinnell Expedition, fitted out at the charge of Mr. Joseph Grinnell of New York, was officially considered by its commander, Lieut. E. J. De Haven, in his *Report on the Sir John Franklin Search, Oct. 4, 1851 (32d Cong. 1st sess. Ho. Ex. Doc. no. 2)*; but the greater interest attaches to the story of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the surgeon of the party, in his *United States Grinnell Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin; a personal narrative* (New York, 1854).[1] Kane himself commanding the next expedition, his narrative appeared in *Arctic Explorations: the Second Grinnell Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, 1853–55* (Philad., 1856, 1860).[2]



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SEARCH FOR FRANKLIN, AND SOME OF THE DISCOVERIES OF HIS ERA.

FRANKLIN'S TRACK.*

[1] A new edition, with a biography of Franklin, by S. A. Allibone, Philadelphia, 1857.

[2] Reprinted, London, 1860. Cf. *Explorations in Arctic Regions by Dr. Kane* (London, 1865); *Kane's Arctic Explorations* (Hartford, 1868). Cf. Kane's *Access to an Open Polar Sea* (N. Y., 1853); and Peter Force's *Grinnell Land* and *Supplement to Grinnell Land* (Washington, 1852 and 1853).

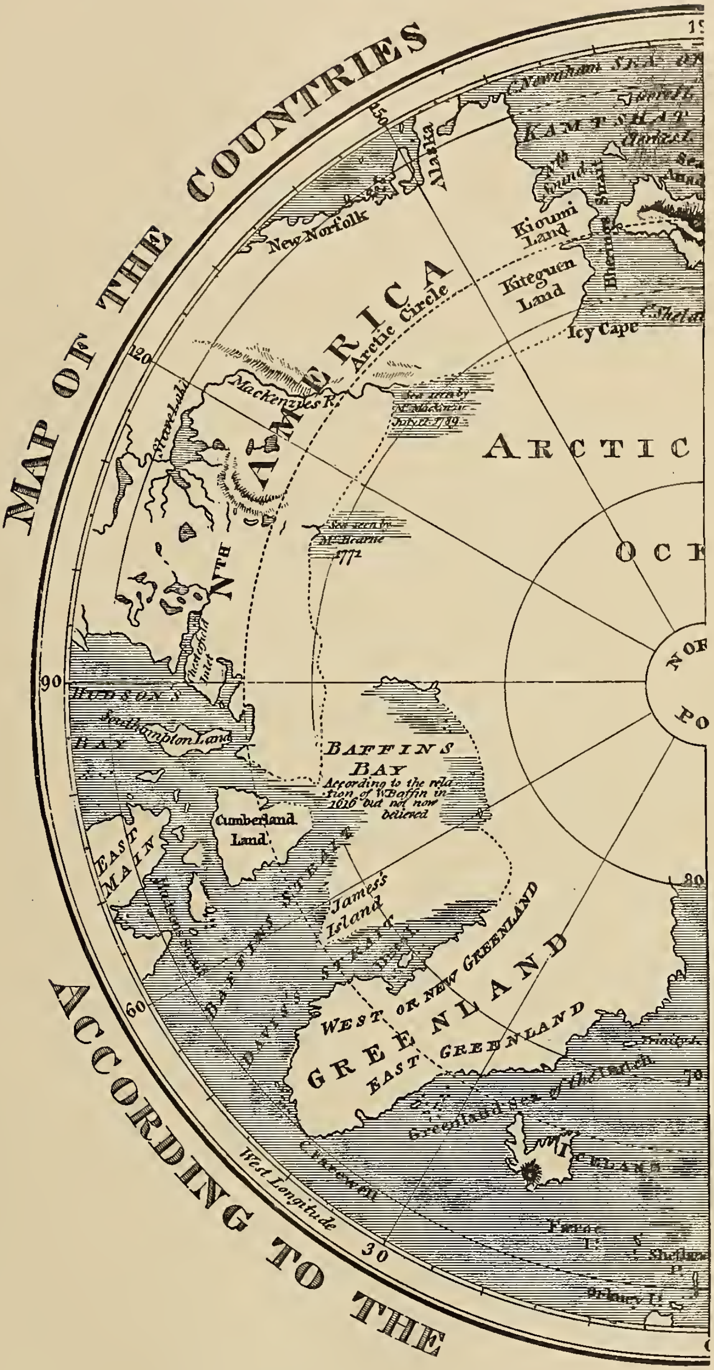
There is a life of Dr. Kane by Dr. Elder (1858), and a sketch by M. Jones (1866). Allibone and Poole will supply periodical sources. August Sonntag, the astronomer of the expedition, prepared a popular *Narrative of the Grinnell Exploring Expeditions 1853–55* (Philad., 1857).

Kane had been the first to explore Baffin's Bay since Baffin himself in 1616.

Cf. Dr. Emil Bessel's on "Smith Sound and its Exploration," from the time of Bylot and Baffin, 1616, to the present day, in *Proceedings of the U. S. Naval Institute*, vol. x. p. 333.

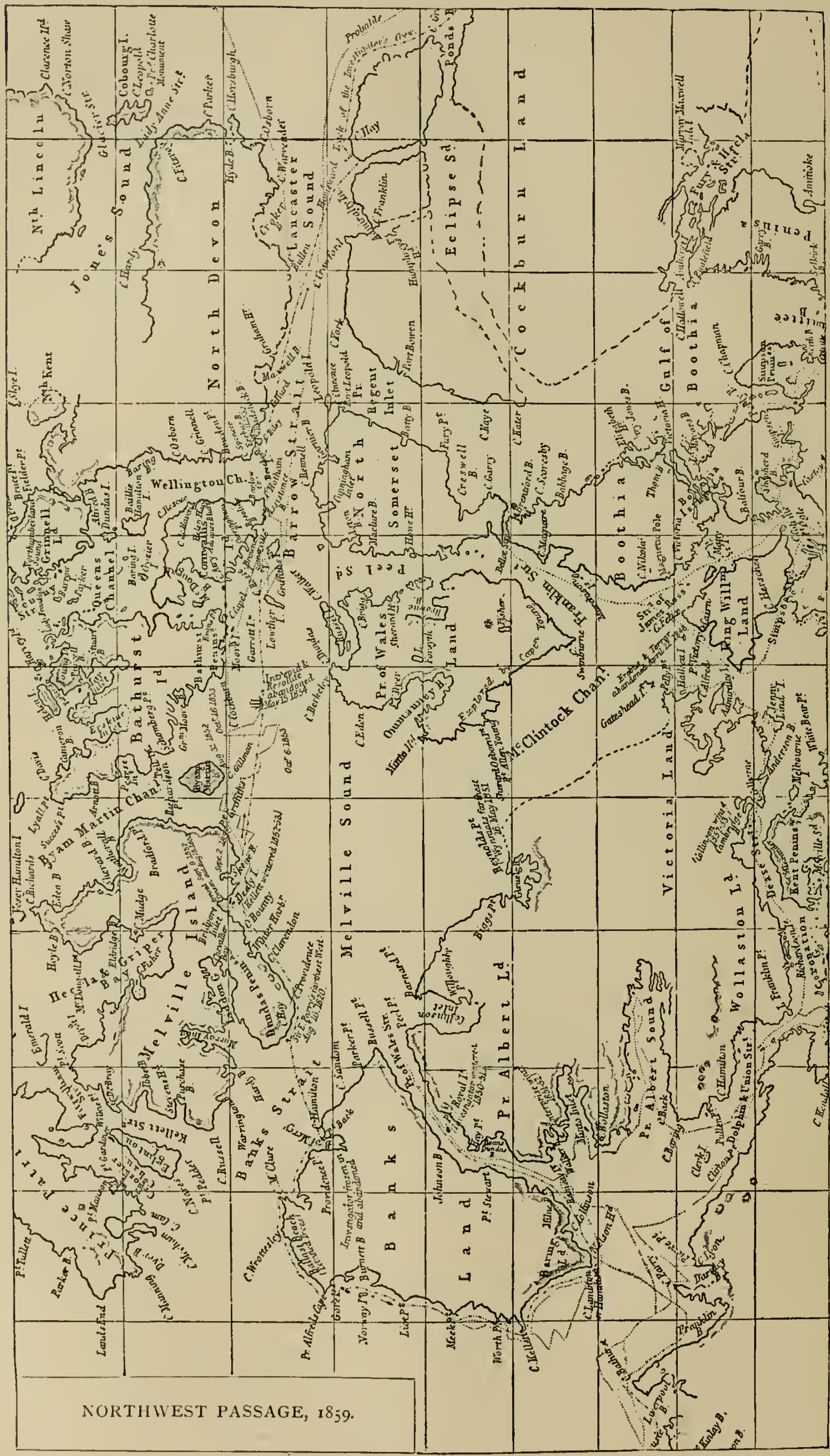
A curious interest attaches to the *Memoirs of Hans Hendrik, the Arctic traveller, serving under Kane,*

* Reproduction of a sketch map in A. H. Beesly's *Sir John Franklin* (N. Y., 1881).



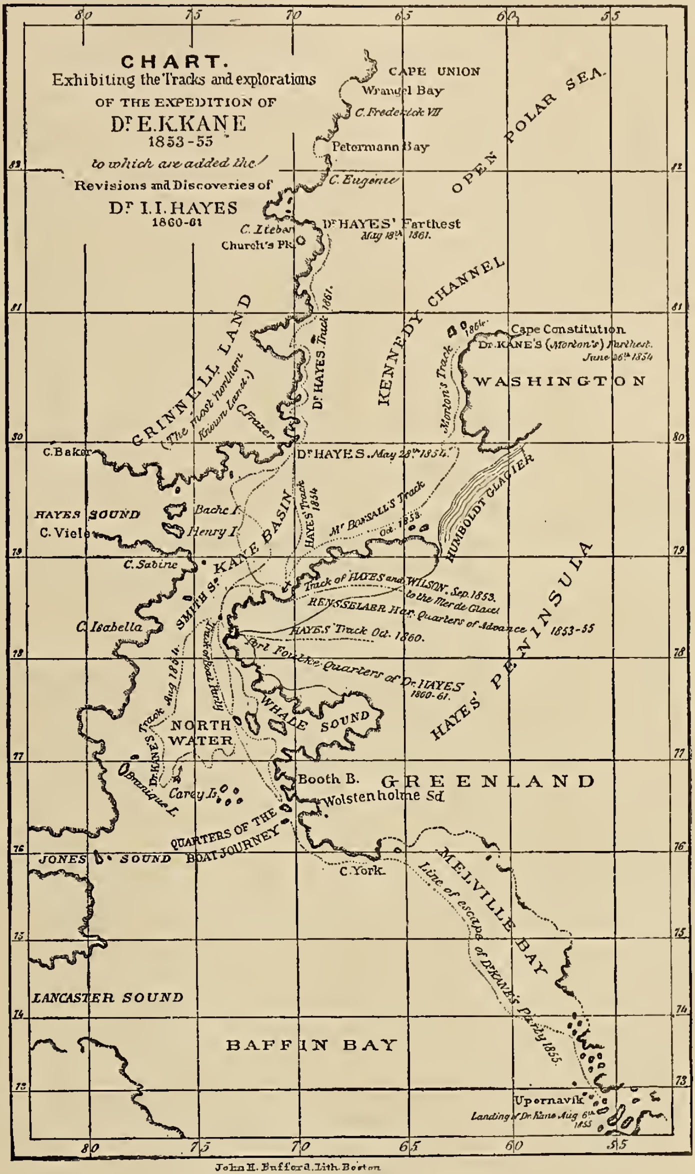
O'REILLY, 1818.*

* Part of the map in Bernard O'Reilly's *Greenland* (N. Y., 1818). This map is selected as the latest of the old views. Nourse gives in his Hall's *Second Arctic Expedition* a circumpolar map, in which the condition of knowledge in 1818 is given in black, and the after knowledge in red. Belcher's *Last of the Arctic Voyages* has a large map showing the discoveries between Baffin's Bay and Behring's Straits from 1818 to 1854.



NORTHWEST PASSAGE, 1859.

Isaac I. Hayes' *Arctic Boat Journey in the Autumn of 1854* (Boston, 1860, 1867) records the experiences of a portion of Dr. Kane's party, who, leaving the "Advance" and the rest of her company, made an unsuccessful attempt to reach Upernavik in Upper Greenland.



John H. Bufford, Lith. Boston.

SMITH SOUND, ETC., 1856–1861.*

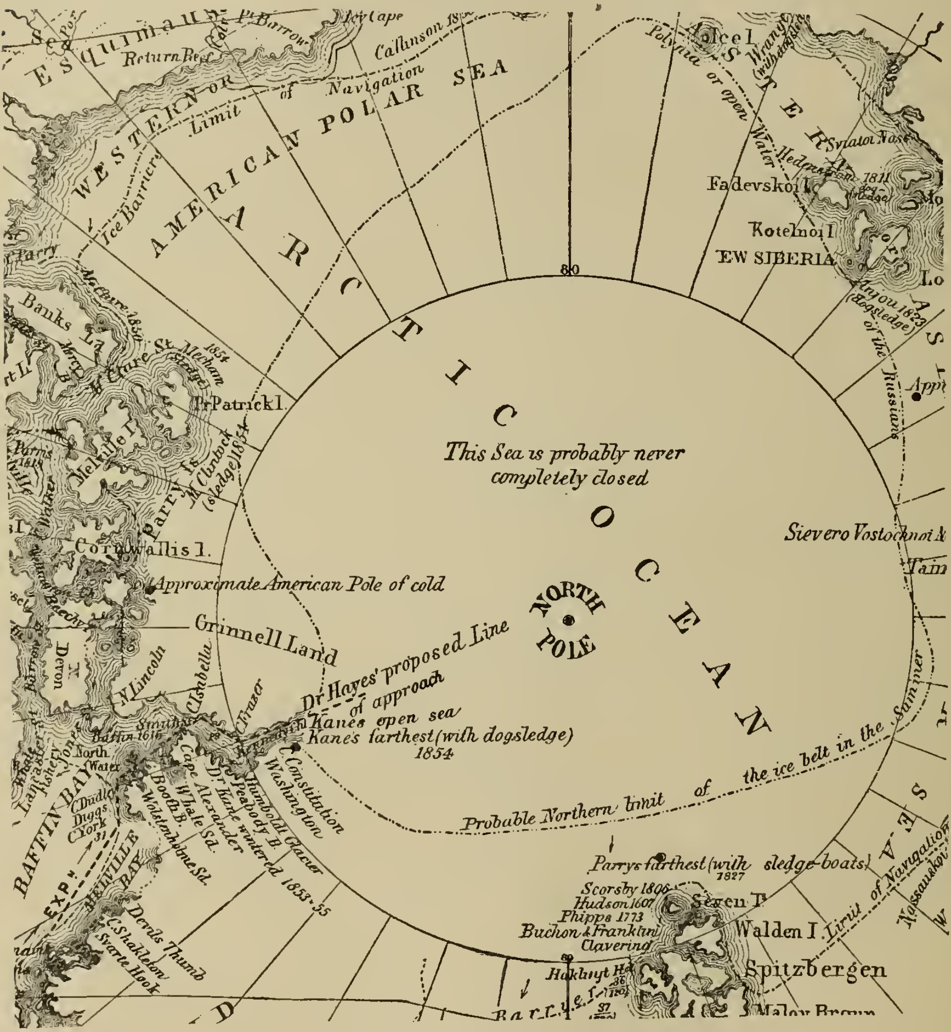
Hayes, Hall, and Nares, 1853–1876. Written by himself. Translated from the Eskimo language by Henry Rink. Edited by George Stephens (Lond., 1878). The book is said to be the unaided production of this famous Arctic companion of Kane and his successors.

NOTE. — The map opposite is from Osborn's *Discovery of a Northwest Passage* (Edinb., 1865), involving McClure's discoveries, and corrected to 1859 by Osborn. There is in Osborn's *Stray Leaves* a map showing the track of the "Pioneer" in 1851–52.

* After map in Dr. Hayes' *Arctic Boat Journey* (Boston, 1868).

Dr. John Rae, in behalf of the Hudson Bay Company, journeyed to Castor and Pollux River in 1853–54, and got some tidings of a part of the Franklin party, and his *Proceedings* were published by the Admiralty in 1855. Cf. Rae's *Voyages and Travels in Arctic Regions* (London, 1856).

Robt. M'Cormick's *Voyages of Discovery in the Arctic and Antarctic Seas, . . . and of an open-boat expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, under command of the author* (London, 1884, in 2 vols.). M'Cormick had earlier served under Parry in 1827, in his attempts to reach the north pole by the Spitzbergen route. The boat expedition is followed in his second volume.



HAYES' MAP, 1860.*

P. L. Simond's *Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Regions* (1851–53). The official *Papers relative to the Arctic Expedition in search of Sir John Franklin* (London, 1854, in 2 vols.). Sir John Ross's *Narrative of the Circumstances and Causes which led to the failure of the searching expeditions sent by government and others for the rescue of Sir John Franklin* (1855). Some "Eskimo reports respecting Sir John Franklin's expedition" are examined in the *Geographical Magazine*, Apr., 1878.

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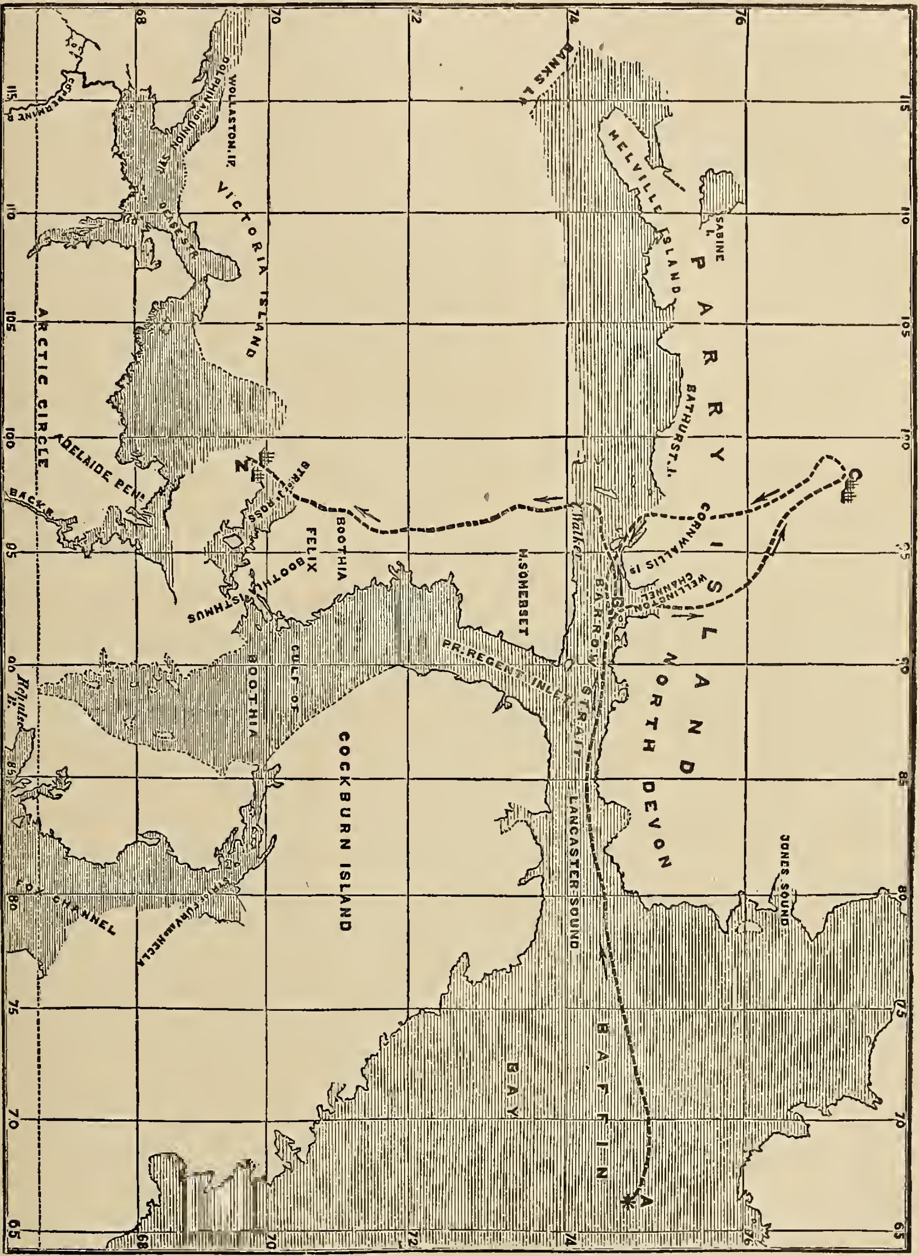
* The centre of the chart of the Arctic regions, in Hayes' *Arctic Boat Journey* (Boston, 1860). Cf. the map in Richardson's *Polar Regions* (1861).

Intelligence of the fate of the Franklin party was at last made known in Captain M'Clintock's *Voyage of the 'Fox' in the Arctic Seas.—A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions* (London, 1859, 1860, 1869, 1876; Boston, 1860, 1863).[1]



FRANKLIN'S SUPPOSED ROUTE.*

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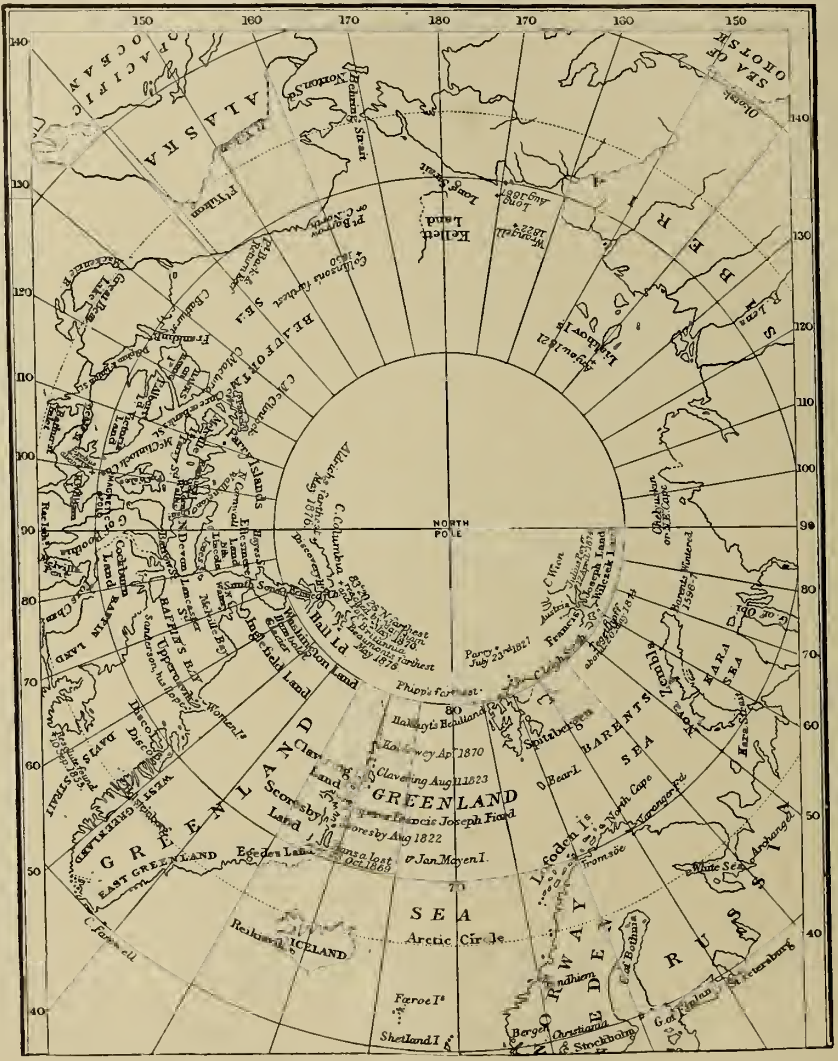
[1] Cf. the private journal of an officer of the "Fox," published in the *Cornhill Mag.* (Jan., 1860); *The Little Fox, the Story of McClintock's Arctic Expedition* (London, 1870, 1875); and Sherard Osborn's *Career,*

* Reduction of a sketch map in M'Clintock's *Voyage of the Fox* (London, 1859).

There is a further account of the Eskimo stories already referred to in W. H. Gilder's *Schwatka's Search* (N. Y., 1881), who says of that expedition: "It was the first expedition which established beyond a doubt the loss of the Franklin records. M'Clintock recorded an opinion that they had perished; Schwatka recorded it as a fact." Gilder's book may be supplemented by Heinrich W. Klutschak's *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos* (Vienna, 1881). The author had been the draughtsman of the expedition, and he gives an interesting map, "Der Schauplatz der Franklinischen Katastrophe," marking the position of the graves and other spots associated with the Franklin party.

CIRCUMPOLAR MAP



CIRCUMPOLAR MAP, SHOWING ATTEMPTS TO REACH THE NORTHERN POLE.*

The modern efforts to reach the Pole as a distinct aim began on the side of Spitzbergen in the voyage recorded in Captain Constantine John Phipps's *Voyage towards the North Pole, undertaken by his Majesty's command, 1773* (London, 1774), which is also included in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. i. The admiralty was induced to dispatch Phipps largely through the recommendation of the Royal Society, moved thereto by Daines Barrington, whose somewhat credulous

* Reproduced from A. H. Markham's *Northward Ho!* (1879).

tracts on the subject are well known: *Probability of reaching the North Pole;* reprinted, with Col. Mark Beaufoy's comments, as *Possibility of approaching the North Pole asserted* (London and New York, 1818). Cf. also Barrington's *Miscellanies*, 1781.

The voyage of William Scoresby in 1806, in which he attained with his ship the great northing of 81° 30′, was also on the side of Spitzbergen; and the explorations recorded in Dr. Scoresby's *Journal of a Voyage to the Northern Whale Fishery, including researches on the Eastern Coast of Greenland* (Edinburgh, 1823), are also descriptive of exploits east of Greenland. The younger Scoresby's *Account of the Arctic Regions, with a history and description of the Northern Whale fishery* (London, 1820), is in part a record of the whalemen's contributions to the explorations of the Arctic seas, including those of Baffin's Bay.[1] Chavanne (pp. 85, 125, 243) gives the bibliography of the explorations on the east side of Greenland.

Capt. Albert H. Markham, in his *Northward Ho!* (London, 1879), offers a distinct account of the attempts to reach the Pole, beginning with the sixth century, as introductory to a narrative of experiences by Thomas Floyd, a midshipman in Captain Phipps's expedition (1773). Markham then continues the story of these strictly polar efforts, in which the most important attempts have been made of late years on the side of Smith Sound, but they fall beyond the chronological limits of the present chapter, and are not in the same sense necessary to complete the story as was the case with the final results of the Franklin search.[2]

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last voyage, and fate of Sir John Franklin (London, 1860), which is also included in the Edinburgh edition (1865) of Osborn's *Stray Leaves.*

[1] Cf. J. A. Allen's *Papers rel. to the mammalian orders of Cete, etc.* (Washington, 1882).

[2] A good share of the efforts in this direction on the west of Greenland has fallen to Americans. Dr. Hayes had demonstrated his plan of the practicability of reaching the North Pole in the *Amer. Asso. Adv. Science Proc.* (1858, vol. xii.) and recorded his results in finding, as he held, an unobstructed Arctic ocean in his *Open Polar Sea: a narrative of a voyage of discovery towards the North Pole* (N. Y., 1867).

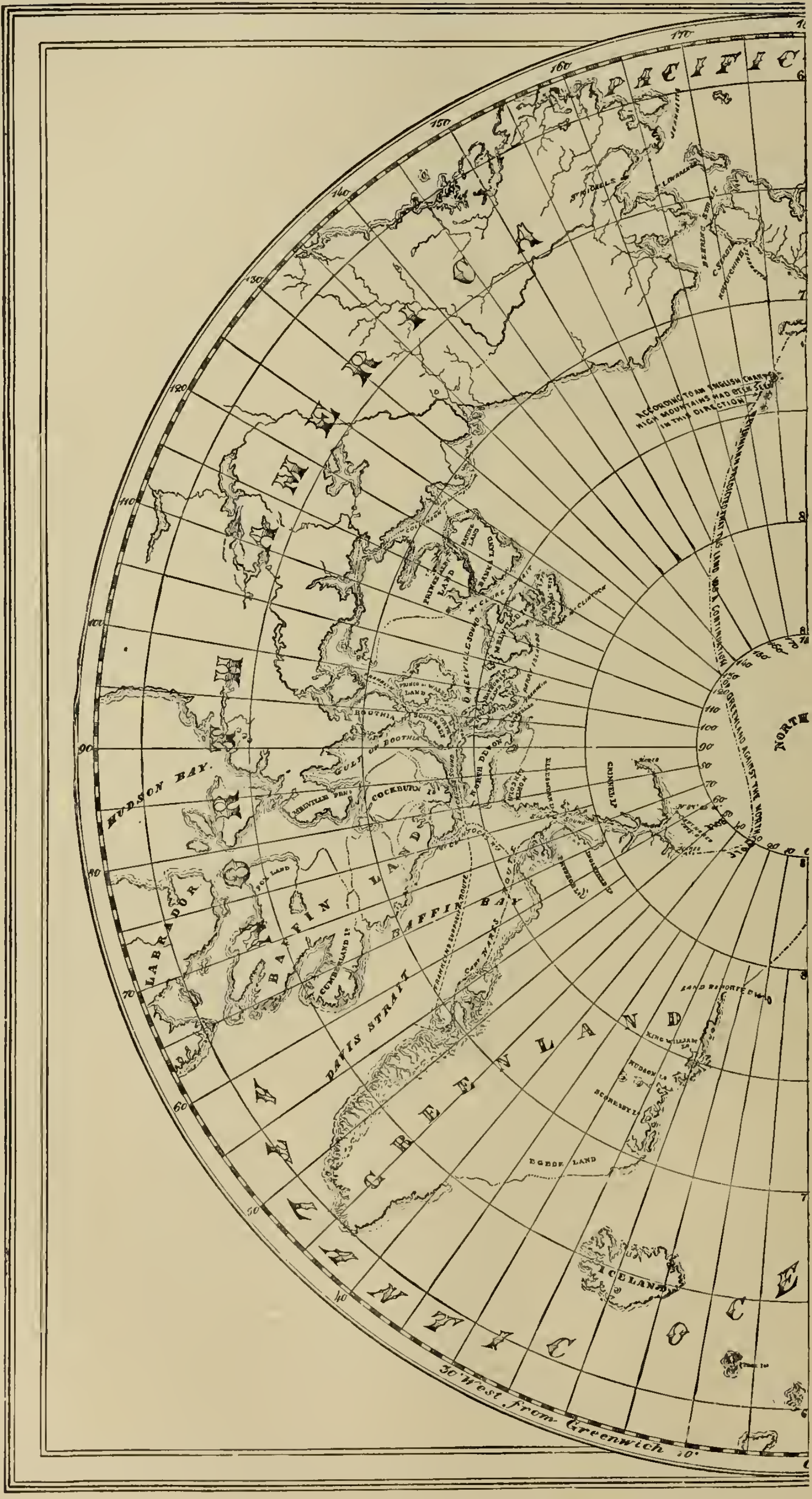
Captain C. F. Hall made three Arctic voyages: the first (1860–62) was commemorated in his *Arctic Researches* (1864); the second (1864–69), in his *Narrative of a second Arctic Expedition: Voyage to Repulse Bay, 1864–69. Edited by Professor J. E. Nourse* (Washington, 1879). On a third voyage, in the "Polaris," he died, Nov. 8, 1871. The government bought his papers of his family in 1874, and out of them, with other material, Professor Nourse constructed the account just mentioned, after Admiral Ch. H. Davis, with Nourse's assistance, had earlier got into shape the *Narrative of the North Polar Expedition, U. S. Ship Polaris* (Washington, 1876). The "Polaris" reached 82° 16′ north latitude. E. V. Blake's *Arctic Experiences* (N. Y. and London, 1874) covers the drift of Captain E. E. Tyson, of the Polaris expedition, on an ice floe. The expeditions of 1860–62 and 1864–69 may be considered in part a portion of the general Franklin search.

Meanwhile the interest in another purely polar effort was increasing in England. Osborn had discussed the proposed routes in the *Geographical Mag.*, Sept., 1874. We have two important records of the results of the expedition which followed: *Journals and Proceedings of the Arctic Expedition, 1875–76, under the Command of Capt. Sir George Strong Nares* (London, 1877, — Blue Book), with the official charts; and the personal narrative of one of his officers, Capt. A. H. Markham in his *Great Frozen Sea* (London, 1878), which title, it will be observed, is a criticism of Dr. Hayes's book. By sledges Markham attained to 83° 20′ 26″, or to within 400 miles of the Pole. Markham gives a map, illustrating the expedition, reduced by E. G. Ravenstein from the Admiralty chart. (Cf. *Bull. de la Soc. de Paris, 1876.*) Detailed maps of Markham's greatest northing by sledges will be found in the official *Blue-Book of the Nares Expedition*, p. 126; in M'Cormick's *Voyages of Discoveries*, vol. ii. Cf. the Lincoln Sea map in Hall's *Northern Polar Expedition* (1876), ed. by Davis, p. 356; others in *Recent Polar Voyages to 1876;* and in Alexander Leslie's *Arctic Voyages of A. E. Nordenskjöld* (Lond., 1879).

The "Pandora" of Capt. Allen Young's voyage in 1875–76 (see map of her track from Baffin's Bay to Melville Island in J. A. MacGahan's *Under the Northern Lights*, London, 1876) became, under a new name, the vessel commanded by Captain De Long, whose exploits and fate are commemorated by De Long's widow in the *Voyage of the Jeannette* (Boston, 1883), and in J. W. Danenhower's *Narrative of the Jeannette* (Boston, 1882).

The eventful experiences of the Franklin Bay Expedition, under Lieut. A. W. Greely, was told in his *Three Years of Arctic Service, 1881–84, and the attainment of the farthest north* (N. Y., 1886). Greely's official *Report on the Proceedings of the U. S. Expedition to Lady Franklin Bay* was not published till 1888. This highest altitude, 83° 24′, was attained by Lieutenant Lockwood with a sledge party; and the story of the rescue is told jointly by Commander W. S. Schley, of the relief expedition, and Professor J. R. Soley, in *The Rescue of Greely* (N. Y., 1885).

NOTE. — The circumpolar map given in Mrs. De Long's *Voyage of the Jeannette* (Boston, 1883), showing the highest point reached up to that date, is partly reproduced on the next page.


PACIFIC
AMERICA
ST. MICHAELS
ST. LAWRENCE
BEHRING STRAIT
C. SERDZE
KOLIUTCHINE
ACCORDING TO AN ENGLISH CHART HIGH MOUNTAINS HAD BEEN SEEN IN THIS DIRECTION
SUPPOSED THAT THE LAND WAS A CONTINUATION OF GREENLAND AGAINST THE NORTH
NORTH
COLLINSON
BARING LAND
PRINCE ALBERT LAND
BANKS LAND
MCCLURE STRAIT
MCCLINTOCK
MELVILLE SOUND
MELVILLE I.
PARRY ISLANDS
PRINCE OF WALES LAND
BOOTHIA
SOMERSET
NORTH DEVON
GULF OF BOOTHIA
MELVILLE PENS.
COCKBURN I.
ELLESMERE L.
GRINNELL L.
KENNEDY
SMITH SOUND
MCCLINTOCK'S ROUTE
HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
FOX LAND
BAFFIN LAND
BAFFIN BAY
CUMBERLAND I.
DAVIS STRAIT
CAPE FAREWELL
GREENLAND
LAND REPORTED
KING WILLIAM LD.
HUDSON LD.
SCORESBY LD.
EGEDE LAND
ICELAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
30 West from Greenwich 10
170
160
150
140
130
120
110
100
90
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70
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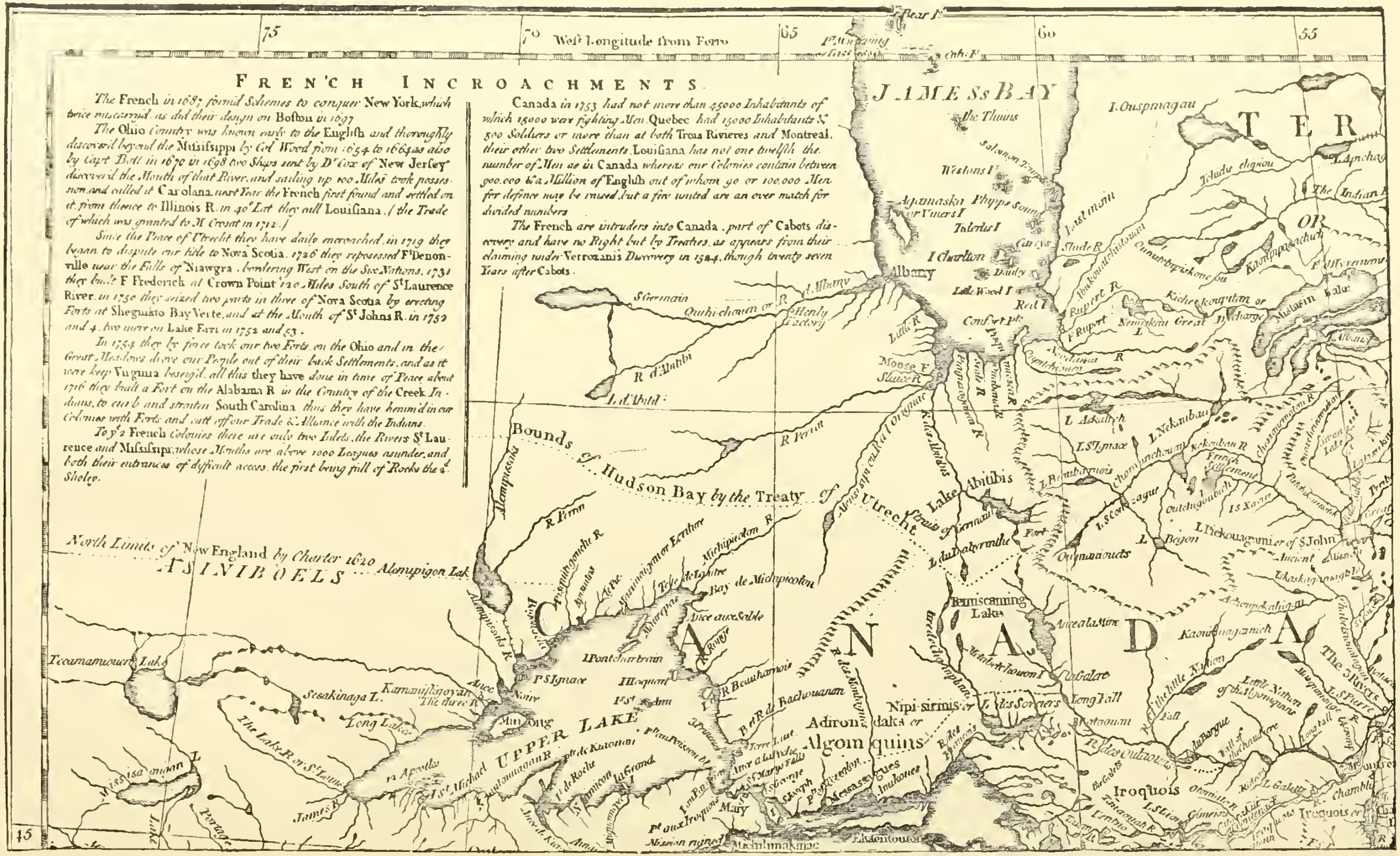
CHAPTER III.

CANADA FROM 1763 TO 1867.

BY GEORGE BRYCE, LL. D.

Professor in Manitoba College, Winnipeg.

THE experiment of transforming a hostile French population into good British subjects had failed in Acadia. The ill-fated Acadians fell on evil days when, in the opinion of British and colonial leaders alike, the only mode of governing them was to scatter them among the colonies of the Atlantic coast. Whatever else it meant, the Acadian deportation of 1755 was a confession that the resources of controlling power and expedient had failed. Another similar and yet greater problem confronted Britain in her assumption of the government of Canada after Wolfe's conquest in 1759. Acadia had contained probably 10,000 French people, all told. What must be done with 65,000 people of the same ardent nature, glorying in being descendants of the rivals of the British from the days of Crécy and Poictiers, and, moreover, differing in language and religion from their conquerors? No doubt the irritating effect of having French compatriots for neighbors, as in the case of Acadia, was absent; but, on the other hand, discontent was plainly rising against the mother country all along the Atlantic seaboard. No young monarch ever had a harder task thrown upon him than George III, coming to the throne with a newly acquired and hostile Canada, and with colonial America restless and querulous. On the acquisition of Canada, after the capitulation of Montreal, a capable and judicious British officer, General Murray, was put in charge of the conquered country. The promises made to the "new subjects," as the French-Canadians were called, had been liberal: "the inhabitants and merchants were to enjoy all the privileges granted to subjects of his Britannic Majesty." To a sensitive people, such as the French-Canadians, it was not likely that the new yoke would be agreeable. While General Murray was much respected, yet the four years following the capture of Quebec are contemptuously referred to as the "rule of the soldiery," which one of their historians has declared "constituted a formal violation of two capitulations." When the Treaty of Paris (1763) had finally destroyed all hope of a French reoccupation of Canada, a number of prominent officers and merchants, to whom the people under the paternal government of New France had looked as indispensable, departed for their mother country or for



FRENCH INCROACHMENTS.

The French *in 1687 form'd Schemes to conquer* New York, *which twice miscarried, as did their design on* Boſton *in 1697*

The Ohio *Country was known early to the* Engliſh *and thoroughly discover'd beyond the* Miſsiſsippi *by Col. Wood from 1654 to 1664, as also by Capt. Bolt in 1670. in 1698 two Ships sent by D^{r} Cox of* New Jerſey *discover'd the Mouth of that River, and sailing up 100 Miles took possession, and called it* Carolana. *next Year the* French *first found and settled on it, from thence to* Illinois R. *in 40° Lat. they call* Louiſiana. *(the Trade of which was granted to M. Crosat in 1712.)*

Since the Peace of Utrecht they have daily encroached, in 1719 they began to dispute our title to Nova Scotia. *1726 they repossessed* F^{t} Denonville *near the Falls of* Niagara, *bordering West on the Six Nations. 1731 they built* F. Frederick *at* Crown Point *120 Miles South of* S^{t} Laurence River. *in 1750 they seized two parts in three of* Nova Scotia *by erecting Forts at* Sheguakto Bay Verte, *and at the Mouth of* S^{t} Johns R. *in 1752 and 4. two more on* Lake Erie *in 1752 and 53.*

In 1754 they by force took our two Forts on the Ohio *and in the Great Meadows drove our People out of their back Settlements, and as it were kept* Virginia *besieg'd. all this* they have *done in time of Peace. about 1716 they built a Fort on the* Alabama R *in the Country of the* Creek *Indians, to curb and straiten* South Carolina *thus they have hemm'd in our Colonies with Forts and cutt off our Trade & Alliance with the Indians.*

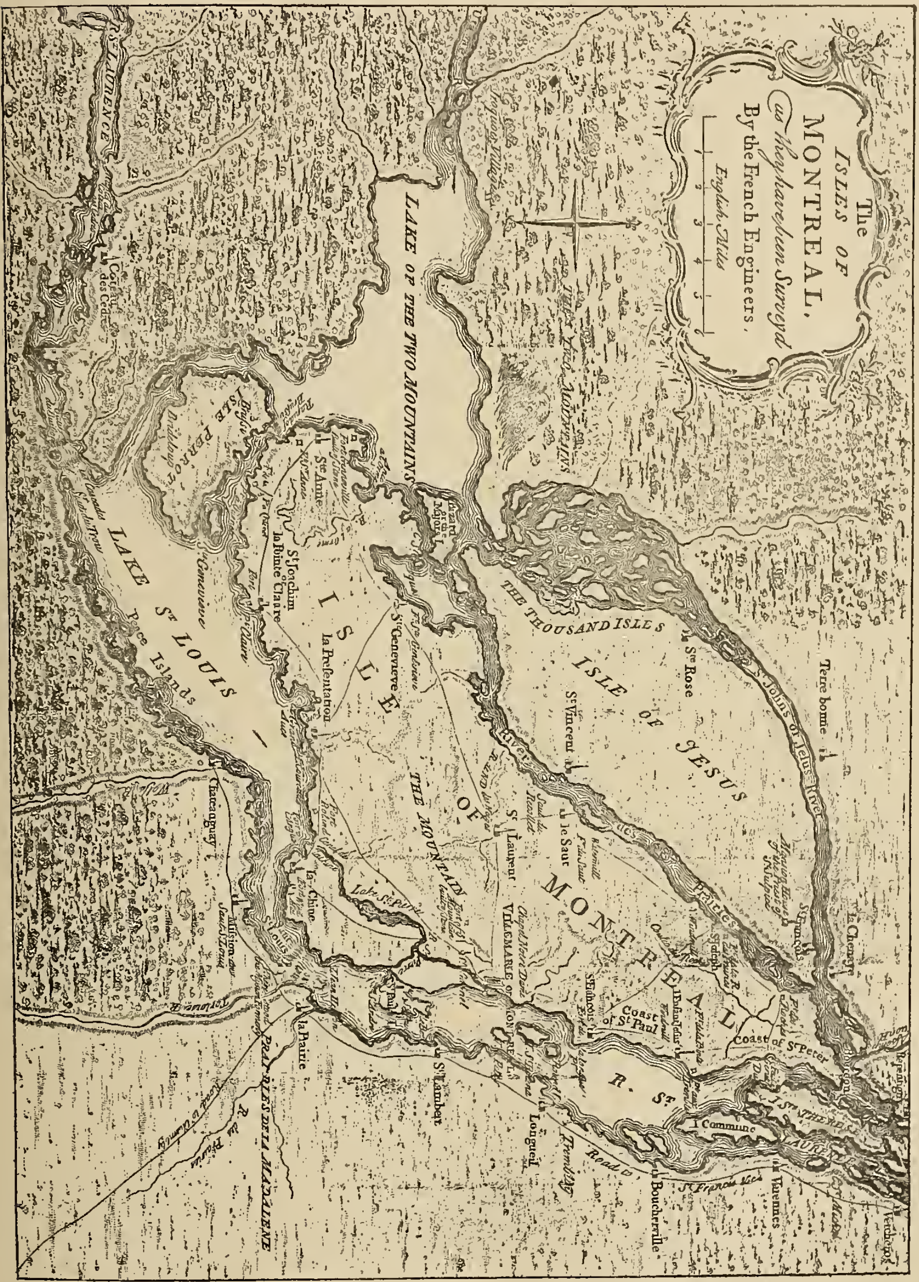
To y^{e} 2 French *Colonies there are only two Inlets, the Rivers* S^{t} Laurence *and* Miſsiſsipi, *whose Mouths are above 1000 Leagues asunder, and both their entrances of difficult access. the first being full of Rocks the 2^{d}. Sholes.*

Canada *in 1753 had not more than 45000 Inhabitants of which 15000 were fighting Men.* Quebec *had 15000 Inhabitants & 500 Soldiers or more than at both* Trois Rivieres *and* Montreal, *their other two Settlements.* Louiſiana *has not one twelfth the number of Men as in* Canada *whereas our Colonies contain between 900.000 & a Million of* Engliſh *out of whom 90 or 100.000 Men for defence may be raised, but a few united are an over match for divided numbers*

The French *are intruders into* Canada, *part of* Cabots *discovery and have no Right but by Treaties, as appears from their claiming under* Verrazani's *Discovery in 1524, though twenty seven Years after* Cabots.

CANADA, 1763.

San Domingo. The vacant positions in the towns, and the unoccupied lands and forests of Quebec offered freely to officers and soldiers, were an invitation to adventurers from Great Britain and the Atlantic seaboard



From the *London Magazine*, January, 1761.

NOTE TO OPPOSITE MAP. — A reduced section of the map, "North America from the French of Mr. D'Anville," in Jefferys' *Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America* (London, 1760).

colonies. Thus the influx of strangers aroused the fear and jealousy of the timid colonists of the St. Lawrence. One of their writers has thus described the strange incursion: "Immediately after the Treaty of Paris, the English, who were seeking for their personal advantage to profit from the new colony, began to arrive amongst us. The greater part carried their bales of merchandise; others brought Bibles, while others the English laws. Of these last, some were lawyers, some judges, appointed, dispatched, and installed here by the crown. They arrived, some from the three kingdoms, but yet more from New England. To say the truth, they came from all parts." . . . General Murray had selected an executive council, but it was almost entirely made up of English-speaking people. There was no other plan. In a few years some even of the noblesse accepted the situation, and the pleasant story is told of Chevalier de Léry and his spouse being presented to George III in London, when the gallant monarch remarked with reference to the lady, "that if all the Canadian ladies resembled her, he had indeed made a fair conquest."

Practically, however, the acceptance of their new masters by the French-Canadians was slow, though on the other hand the small part taken by the people in government under the preceding French régime was continued in the form of a mere passive obedience under the new circumstances. Their priests and religion were respected; the British system of jurisprudence was introduced, but was not popular; and to their curés the people took most of their disputes for settlement. If General Murray had been a people's favorite, he was also succeeded by one of the most popular men of his time in North America. This was the noted general and diplomat, Sir Guy Carleton. Full of Irish spirit and wit, Carleton had been a favorite in the army, had seen many a bitter fight, and was the man to maintain the confidence of the light-hearted Canadians. Seven years after Wolfe's victory, which had made him a brigadier-general, he became governor. His associates were well chosen. Chief Justice Hey was capable; and a most distinguished lawyer, Francis Maseres, of French Huguenotic blood, was a councillor for three years, and afterwards returned to a high position in England. Charles Lamb speaks of him: "Baron Maseres, who walks, or did till very lately, in the costume of the reign of George II, closes my imperfect recollection of the old benchers of the Inner Temple."

No doubt the event most important at this time was the passage of the "Quebec Act of 1774." It is remarkable that almost every one had something to say for or against this famous act, except the French-Canadians themselves. Pennsylvania and New York objected because the boundaries of the new province seemed to invade their claims; the merchants of London were opposed to the introduction of the French civil law; many British parliamentarians disliked the act because it made no provision for representative institutions, but looked to a government by crown officers alone; the Congress meeting in Philadelphia urged the Canadians to resent the illiberal features of the act being passed in London. Jean Baptiste, however, if allowed to smoke his pipe in peace, speak his own tongue unmolested, and obey his good father-confessor, cared nothing for his other rights. The main provisions of the act of 1774 are the preservation of their religion to the French-Canadians, the encouragement of the Protestant religion, the continuation of the criminal law of England, the permission of the French code in civil causes, and the establishment of an executive council. The act declares, "It is at present inexpedient to call an assembly;" and this was probably done on the advice of Governor Carleton, who seemingly desired to conciliate the Canadians as to law and religion, but as a military man to keep the government very much out of their hands. The act is very well characterized by George Heriot (1807): "The system (introduced by the Quebec Act) was not contemplated with partiality even on the part of the statesmen by whom it was originally framed. But its temporary operation was considered as expedient on account of the symptoms of discontent which had then appeared in several of the British provinces on the continent of America." The French-Canadians hailed the return of Governor Carleton to Canada, after the passage of the act, with demonstrations of great satisfaction. General Carleton was, however, soon compelled to lay down the pen of the diplomat, and to seize the sword in the defence of Canada. An account is given elsewhere[1] of the expedition of Generals Montgomery and Arnold to take Quebec, after the English colonies had rebelled. For the defence of Quebec Carleton had but one company of regulars and the few seamen and marines of a sloop lying at Quebec. With his power of arousing enthusiasm, Carleton raised from among the people, most of them French-Canadians, a considerable body of defenders. His favorable standing on both continents as a soldier makes it difficult to explain the treatment given him, in superseding him as commander-in-chief, and sending General Burgoyne in his place. It may have been the intention of the British ministry to push the war in the enemy's country with more vigor, and thus leave Carleton more opportunity to devote himself to the management of a fickle people. Whatever the causes, Carleton felt and wrote keenly on the matter, and, Achilles-like, retired from Canada to his tent at home in 1778. The dissatisfied governor left Canada at a most inopportune time for the country. The closing years of the Revolutionary War were of great moment to Canada.

Carleton's successor did not gain so high a reputation as the free-hearted soldier, since called "the founder and saviour of Canada." General Frederick Haldimand, who was appointed governor on the retirement of Carleton, was born at Yverdun in Switzerland, and had entered the British service under the mercenary system so common at the time. Twenty years before the outbreak of the War of Independence he was in command of the British troops stationed at Philadelphia; and we find him under constant appointment by Britain, for more than thirty years, in her different American colonies, including those in the West Indies. He had been in many of the engagements of the Seven Years' War and the War of Independence, and after the capture of Canada was placed in command of Montreal, and then of Three Rivers in the time of General Murray. His continuous employment by Britain in important positions shows him to have been a man of ability, and a late writer is no doubt too severe when he says: "Like Clinton, Haldimand was nervous and sank under the weight of responsibility, and never saw or rose to the occasion. He was a good professional officer, honest, trustworthy, but devoid of insight." It was under Haldimand that the settlement of the loyalists took place in Canada.

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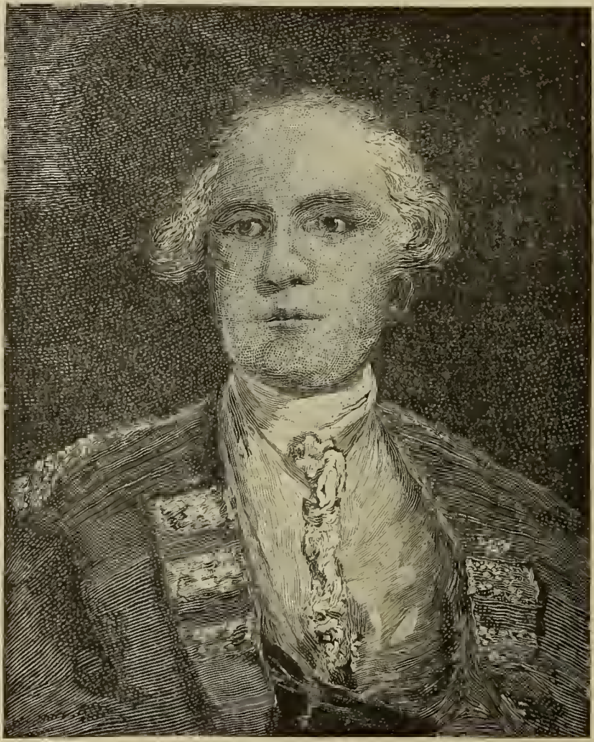
[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 161–7.



GENERAL HALDIMAND.*

Elsewhere[1] the condition of the loyalists in leaving the United States has been treated. Here a word as to their destination. From the seaboard States crowds of refugees fled to Nova Scotia. On the coast of Nova Scotia was built the temporary town of Shelburne, intended to be the Carthage of the fugitives, but it has long since disappeared. A strong and successful hold was taken of the river St. John by a military section of the loyalists. Here the feeling of desire for self-control became so strong that in 1784 a new

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VII. p. 185.

* [After a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, owned by W. L. Haldimand of Montreal, who kindly permitted it to be copied. There is a miniature likeness on ivory also owned in the family. I have traced these pictures through the aid of Mr. Brymner, the Dominion archivist. — Ed.]

province was set apart, and called New Brunswick. Already strongly military and patriotic, Nova Scotia, including the separated territory with the adjoining island of St. John, called afterward Prince Edward Island, received not less than twenty thousand of the refugees to be an element of strength in her population. And not only the maritime provinces, but inland Canada received its share of this patriotic element. In 1782 the irate officer Sir Guy Carleton had been soothed in feeling, and had been appointed to the command of New York in place of Sir Henry Clinton. The old friend of the Canadians naturally directed the eyes of the fugitives, many of whom had found a rendezvous in New York, to the banks of the St. Lawrence. Two ships, guarded by the brig "Hope" and laden with loyalists, left New York harbor in 1783, and sailed up the St. Lawrence to deposit these "pilgrim fathers" of Upper Canada at Sorel for the winter. Thither also, down the old military road along the Richelieu, came the soldiers of disbanded loyalist regiments, chiefly from the Johnson estates in New York State. The Sorel refugees in the next year took up their weary road and settled the country from Glengarry to the Bay of Quinté. By the Mohawk and past Oswego, another stream of loyalists made their way to settle along Lake Ontario, while the Niagara frontier was lined with the desperate Butler's rangers; and loyalist districts extended even to the neighborhood of Detroit along Lake Erie. Ten thousand loyalists, men and women of determination and principle, thus peopled and gave tone to what is now the province of Ontario, the backbone of the Dominion. For a century to come, every homestead taken up by a loyalist or his descendant was a centre of British sentiment, whatever might be the variations of opinion in the new land. Even loyalist Indians of the Six Nations were not wanting in this seed-sowing of patriotism. Joseph Brant, who had declared himself ready to "sink or swim" with the British, led large numbers of his people to settle on the Grand River and along the Bay of Quinté. The influx of thirty thousand new colonists into British America, and most of them dependent upon the government even for daily bread, brought much anxiety to the strict-minded Governor Haldimand. The unsettled condition of the border States, especially of Vermont, and the possibilities of the untried system of republican

STATUE OF BRANT AT BRANTFORD, ONTARIO.*

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* After a photograph.

government, gave rise to many complications. Haldimand saw everything from the soldier's standpoint. His first duty was to preserve Canada free of taint from republican opinion. No loyalist, with his permission, might settle immediately upon the frontier, and suspicious strangers must be closely supervised. A few restless spirits in Canada were in communication with the leading men of the United States. Among these was one Pierre du Calvet, a French Protestant, residing in Montreal and possessed of considerable means and property. Letters of his to General Washington were intercepted, and Du Calvet, with others, was promptly arrested. This proved a most troublesome matter, the French seignior carrying his case afterward to Britain, much to the distress of the governor. A most extraordinary person involved in the Du Calvet case, and a marplot in all Canadian affairs in the Colonial office, was a worthless Jesuit priest named Pierre Roubaud. The Du Calvet case, upon which much has been said, was ended by the principal being lost at sea on his return from Britain to Canada.

After eight years of turmoil and indefatigable, and let us say not unavailing, labor, the martinet governor returned to England, to be succeeded by the idol of the French-Canadian people, Sir Guy Carleton, but now with his services fully recognized, since he had been raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester. A pressing work was awaiting the practical-minded governor on his return to Canada. Just as the masterful loyalists to the north of the Bay of Fundy could not be satisfied till they had secured New Brunswick as a province to be moulded after their own thought, so in a still stronger degree did the fathers of Upper Canada desire to be separated from their French fellow-subjects, and to found a new province and new institutions after their own heart. But in political rearrangements it is inevitable that the greater good to many may crush out the life of some. The English-speaking people who had gathered into Montreal and Quebec now formed, twenty-five years after the Treaty of Paris, a considerable body. They had hailed the coming of the loyalists to the province of Quebec as giving them support and countenance in the face of French ideas, but now to have, as the western loyalists wished, the province divided roused their strongest opposition. Lord Dorchester had, however, the penetration to see that not only would a loyalist province on the St. Lawrence strengthen British interests in America, but it was plain that the narrow Quebec Act of 1774 had served its purpose, and freer institutions might with advantage be given to the people, in response to the petitions which had been forwarded to London for representation. The English-speaking people of Montreal and Quebec were represented by a doughty champion, Adam Lymburner, a Quebec merchant, and he fought against the proposed change with Scottish pertinacity. The opposition was, however, to no purpose; the die was cast; and the "Constitutional Act of 1791," dividing Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, became law, fixing for each province two houses of parliament, namely, a legislative council of appointed members and an assembly chosen by the people from fixed districts. Provision was made for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, and the governors of the separate provinces were empowered to "erect parsonages and endow them, and to present incumbents of ministers of the Church of England." The chief features of the old "Quebec Act," except the government by the executive council, remained in force. The news of the passage of this act of 1791 was well received in Quebec. The city was *en fête*. All made the good resolution that the distinction of "old" and "new" subjects now be forgotten. One hundred and sixty gentlemen — French and English — attended a public dinner in Quebec, and formed themselves into the "Constitutional Club."

The old circle of the British provinces had been rent by the American Revolution, but a new congeries of dependencies was rapidly forming, for there were now the four maritime provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, and there were the newly constituted Upper and Lower Canadas. These all, ruling their own local affairs, found their bond of connection to the mother country through the governor-general, the commander-in-chief of the forces, and a governor for each province appointed by the Home office. The proclamation made by George III in 1763, for the purpose of inducing loyal settlers by generous and free gifts of land, was continued with modifications after the coming of the loyalists. The unsettled condition of the several States along the Canadian border gave hope that a large immigration would, if encouraged, follow in the wake of the loyalists; for even Washington and the other leaders of the young republic were not blind to its besetting dangers, while it was quite a foregone conclusion among the governing class in Canada that the new government by the people must be a disastrous failure.

The officials chosen to rule the British provinces were, in the main, able men, though of intensely strong national prejudices. Over Nova Scotia was set as lieutenant-governor the sturdy old apostle of force, Sir John Wentworth. Sir John was a colonist born, had held high office, even that of governor in his native colony of New Hampshire. Trained in the old colonial official school, he was, though somewhat despotic, a good executive officer. For sixteen years he governed Nova Scotia. The pomp and show of the former days were fully maintained, and with his courtly manners he played his part well. As governor he had a horror of popular gatherings, on the ground that, being made up of "uneducated tradesmen, laborers, and farmers," they could only end in vulgar babble. The popular leader, Mr. Cottnam Tonge, was a thorn in the side of the oligarchist governor, and probably the mean of truth lay between the contention of the narrow but good-hearted ruler and the vigorous tribune of the people. During Sir John Wentworth's régime a large immigration came to Nova Scotia. Begun by the imperial colony of Halifax, Nova Scotia had shortly after received some two thousand German colonists, and even before the Revolution a considerable population had come from Boston, Philadelphia, and Rhode

Island to fill up the vacant Acadian lands. A stream of Celtic immigration had set in to the since famous county of Pictou in the company brought by the ship "Hector" in 1773; and this, stimulated by the agricultural distress in Scotland, led to an enormous increase of population, not only in this county, but in Cape Breton also. This sturdy people have always since vied with the loyalists in their devotion to the crown. A less desirable element of population, consisting of thousands of freed negroes from the colonies and of Jamaica maroons, vexed the soul of bluff Sir John, and his "thorough" plan of dealing with them resulted in the exportation of the bulk of these vicious and troublesome settlers to the negro rendezvous of Sierra Leone in Africa. Nothing more than the usual irritating features of infantile colonial life characterized the history of the other provinces encircling the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, although indications were not wanting thus early in Prince Edward Island of the worrying contest, to extend over three generations, as to the land tenure of the island.

Meanwhile, in Lower Canada, under General Prescott, who had succeeded the veteran Lord Dorchester, the French population were learning to accept British institutions. A considerable English-speaking element was also gathering in Lower Canada, especially in the districts known as the Eastern Townships. Undoubtedly the task of governing Lower Canada and of converting an alien race into British subjects was greatly promoted by the great gulf formed between the Canadians and their mother country by the French Revolution. French Canada was unmoved by the atheism of Voltaire or the philosophy of Rousseau; it was, in truth, in opinion the France of Louis XIV. The Churchmen of Canada were thus wrenched suddenly round from a French allegiance, and they brought with them their trustful flocks. It does not surprise us to find the French Bishop of Quebec, five years after the French Revolution, "thanking God the colony was English." When the strong hand of Prescott, however, had given place, in the early years of this century, to weak administrators, jealousy and desire for place led to the establishment of the first French newspaper, *Le Canadien*, in 1806, and in the heat of passion incited the French-Canadians to call their British fellow-colonists "étrangers et intrus." A conciliatory ruler could even yet have quieted the rising storm, but two years after the founding of *Le Canadien* there arrived in Quebec the stern old Scottish soldier Sir James Craig as governor-general. The firm disciplinarian, who had led his troops through the Peninsula, India, and Egypt in the French wars, had only contempt for the French clatter in the little parliament at Quebec, and dismissed the house to their constituents to learn wisdom. The new assembly was, as might have been expected, more fierce than ever. The governor took the summary method of throwing the violent editor of *Le Canadien* into prison, and along with him the more prominent and, as the governor considered, seditious members of the house. The war cloud looming up in the west, however, led the British authorities to prefer the recall of the honest old soldier as governor, to having the "dignity of the king's government" upheld in so unskilful a manner.

But it was in Upper Canada, in the period following the coming of the loyalists, that the greatest changes took place. Their trials had surely been sufficient in their hasty journey into the wilderness. But further hardships were in store for them. The third year after their arrival was a famous year. Their small plantings on the new clearings in the forest were an absolute failure; and for a generation after, the matrons recited the narrow escape from starvation through which they passed in the "hungry year" of 1788. The year 1792 saw the organization of the loyalist province of Upper Canada under the "Constitutional Act." With great appropriateness the man chosen as governor of the new province was John Graves Simcoe, a loyalist officer of the Revolution. The son of a British officer, who had died of disease before Quebec in Wolfe's campaign, the young officer had seen service in the regular army, had been wounded, and had, after his recovery, raised and led the Queen's Rangers. He had, at the close of the war, returned to England, and was a member for Cornwall in the parliament in which the act of 1791 was passed. Governor Simcoe, while intensely loyal in opinion, was a thoroughly practical man, and had evidently the grasp of mind to lay good foundations for the future in the young province. Upper Canada was at that time a vast forest, with a few clearings along the lake shore. Simcoe called the first provincial parliament to meet him at Niagara on the 17th of September, 1792. Of eight acts passed, the three most important were for the establishment and maintenance of English law. The province was divided into counties, the lands were thrown open for settlement, and the governor issued, in the very year of his appointment, a proclamation inviting settlers; taking care, however, to exact from each landholder the oath, "I, A. B., do promise and declare that I will maintain and defend to the utmost of my power the authority of the king in his parliament as the supreme legislature of this province." The sanguine governor was not mistaken in regard to his invitation. Led by a German, Berczy, a thrifty band of German colonists from New York came over, and were the precursors of thousands who followed them to different parts of Upper Canada. Across the Niagara frontier came convoys of emigrants' wagons, herds of cattle, household goods, and invariably large families of children, to receive a welcome to the Niagara or

GOVERNOR SIMCOE.*

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* Follows the portrait engraved in Scadding's *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873).

London peninsula, or the district about Toronto. The land was largely unknown, and Simcoe with remarkable energy personally visited the different parts, chose for the new military depot London, as remote from the frontier, and on the new-world Thames selected a spot to be named Chatham as the dockyard for ships for the inland waters. Toronto, too, in his time was selected, after some discussion, as capital. The pioneer governor had a passion for road-making; and "Governor's Road," Dundas Street, and Yonge Street were laid out and, to some extent, built by soldiers of the Queen's Rangers under the direction of the people's governor. Though but four years governor, and in a province without laws or organization, and with a territory unknown except to the red man, marvels of advancement were wrought by the energetic and patriotic soldier. It is not strange that he should have been called "the father of constitutional, pure, and progressive government in Upper Canada." Though the population of the infant province had risen from twelve to thirty thousand during the short tenure of office by Governor Simcoe, the benefits of his policy were reaped in increasing measure after his departure. In spite of weak administrators and greedy land speculators, and the narrow-minded and selfish policy of the promoters of the "Sedition Act," passed in 1804, which gave power to arrest any person under suspicion who had been less than six months in the province, settlers poured in like a flood. They were as miscellaneous as they were numerous. During the last years of the century a band of royalists from France, of very high rank, formed a settlement a few miles north of Toronto. These included Comte de Puisaye, whom Lamartine declared to be an "orator, diplomatist, and soldier," Comte de Chalûs, who had been a major-general in the royal army of France, General Farcy, and others. These, known as the French émigrés, proved themselves unable to hew out a fortune from the forests of the new world. More practical, though less celebrated, was the colony of Highland soldiers and settlers, who, following their Roman Catholic chaplain Macdonell, afterwards their bishop, came forth to fill up the settlements along the St. Lawrence, which gave the name of the "Fencible regiment" to the district of Glengarry. An associate of Governor Simcoe in his explorations of the country had been a young Irish officer, Thomas Talbot. The vision of the stately forest trees of western Canada never left him, even when he had returned to the Green Isle. A few years after and early in the century, the somewhat quaint young Irishman emigrated to the new province, took up a tract of land on the shores of Lake Erie, and was successful before the end of his life in settling twenty-eight large townships. Colonel Talbot was long a legislative councillor of Upper Canada, and gave his name to the main artery of settlement, which is yet known as Talbot Street.

A political life, somewhat fitful and querulous, was beginning in the new province. Governor Simcoe was succeeded by governors chiefly noted for incompetency; and the loyalists — intense in their devotion as ever Jacobite had been to his cause — began to fear lest the mixed population which had flowed into the province should be of alien spirit, and defeat the very object for which they and their fathers had left the United States, for which they had clamored for the constitutional act of 1791, and which was the dearest idol of their hearts. This spirit naturally drove the proscribed classes into union for self-defence, and, as was usually the case in these new communities, a newspaper was begun to advocate the popular cause, for the loyalist opinions had grown to be looked upon as tyrannical. In 1807 appeared the *Upper Canada Guardian.* While Governor Craig was with a high hand upholding the prerogative in Lower Canada, the dominant party in Upper Canada, under the weak-minded Governor Gore, were persecuting their opponents. Strange that from the waves of the Atlantic to the shores of Lake Ontario, Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada as well, should have been, during the first decade of this century, the scene of turbulence and political strife. No doubt these were the signs of a life slowly rising among the unlikely gatherings of people with their varied political notions. One thing is most observable, — that up to this time a very large percentage of the settlers had been military. The leading elements of Lower Canada had been French officers and soldiers; Nova Scotia had a large proportion of soldiers in Halifax and among its loyalist settlers; New Brunswick was predominantly so; while Upper Canada, with its Niagara frontier peopled by Butler's men, the St. Lawrence district by "Royal Greens" and "Hessians," and Glengarry by the Highland Fencibles, was equally so. This military tone and direction must be ever borne in mind in studying the political and social life of Canada. But now the din of political strife was for a time to be drowned and the military spirit of the people to be drawn forth in the serious war declared in 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, and of which Canada was the principal theatre. It was no quarrel of Canada, though as a dependency of Britain the colony bore the brunt. Arising as it did from the discussion of rights upon the sea, it was to be expected that naval conflicts would make up a considerable part of the war. The account of these is given with some minuteness by another writer.[1] It is our task simply to outline the conflict which took place on Canadian soil.

The prevailing opinion at this time in the United States as to the state of feeling in Canada was quite erroneous. It was currently reported that there were many in Canada who desired to be freed from the British yoke. A little reflection as to the military elements of the Canadian population would have shown the absurdity of this. That there was a certain amount of sympathy for the United States in the western peninsula of Upper Canada, especially along the shore of Lake Erie, may be inferred from the passing of the "Alien Act" in 1804; but compared with the great volume of sentiment in favor of the crown this was insignificant. This misunderstanding goes to excuse somewhat General Hull for his ludicrous proclamation. His own countrymen have been especially severe upon the unfortunate general for his disastrous failure; and while his own plea certainly does not clear him, yet, with the seeming want of sympathy with him on the part of his superiors at Washington, and with the horde of savages let loose upon him after the capture of Michilimackinac, the key of the upper lakes, something may be said in his favor. His opponent, too, General Brock, was a trained soldier, and a man quick to see his advantage. Among the Canadians their leader inspired almost boundless enthusiasm. The winning of the battle of Queenston Heights was dearly bought with the death of so valiant a commander, along with that of his faithful aide, Macdonell. Brave Stephen Van Rensselaer was but badly supported by the war authorities of the United States, and the want of vigor of the whole campaign of the year 1812 was only too fitly closed by the empty proclamation of General Smyth, in which he said: "Soldiers! You are amply provided for war. You are superior in number to the enemy; your personal strength and activity are greater, your weapons are longer. The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies. They will not be able to stand before you — you who charge with the bayonet."

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 377–405.

THE BROCK MONUMENT.*

The only notable question of the first year of the war was the employment of Indians by the Canadians. General Hull had threatened no quarter to the "white man found fighting by the side of an Indian." The question is a large one, and at this distance of time more difficult. Perhaps the strongest point in favor of the British position is that given in General Brock's proclamation: "The brave bands of aborigines which inhabit this colony were, like His Majesty's other subjects, punished for their zeal and fidelity by the loss of their possessions in the late colonies, and rewarded by His Majesty with lands of superior value in this province." In the second year of the war (1813) greater efforts were put forth by the United States, though much indifference on the part of the New England States in the war, and a marked inefficiency in the administration of the war department at Washington, still continued. The Canadians, while gaining an advantage at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, below Detroit, in the defeat and capture of General Winchester by the Wyandot chief Roundhead, had a serious loss in prestige by the bombardment and capture of their capital, York. The greater part of the small force stationed at York, however, retreated down the lake-shore. The American army also appeared in great force on the Niagara frontier. About the end of May the fortune seemed to turn. A successful night attack was made by the Canadians under Colonel, afterwards General Harvey, who also, at a later date, became governor of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. This advantage

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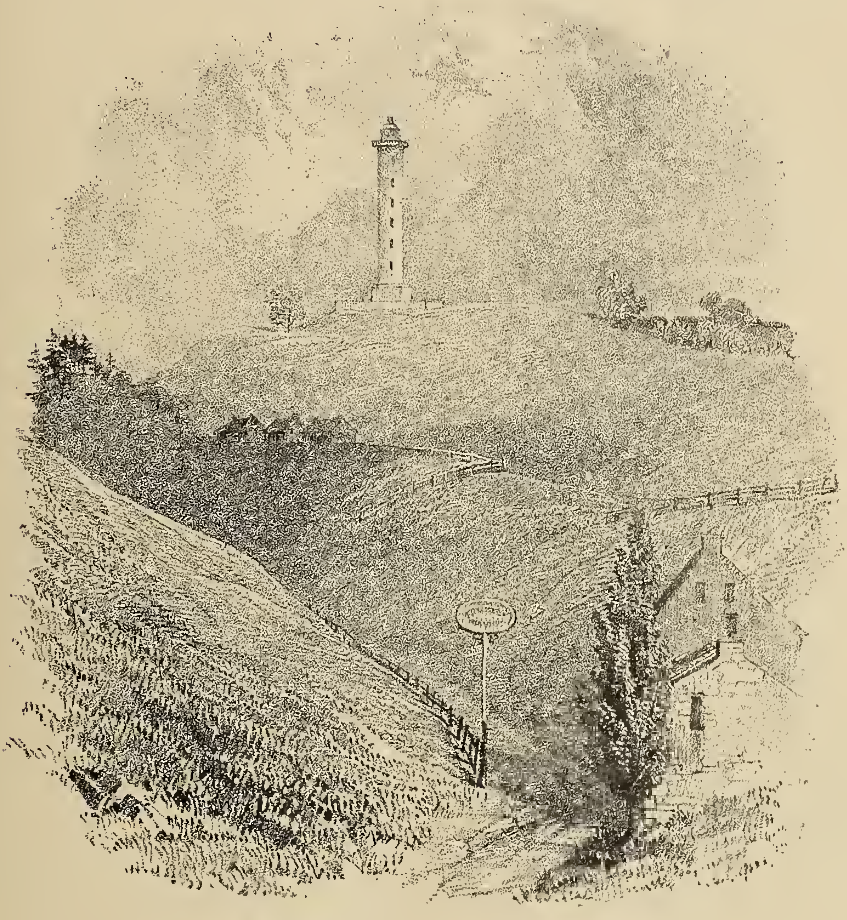
* From a photograph, secured through the kind interposition of G. Mercer Adam, Esq., of Toronto.



BROCK'S MONUMENT ON QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.*

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* Reproduced from Bouchette's *Upper Canada* (London, 1832). Cf. views in Lossing's *Cyclop. U. S. Hist.*, 163, 1174.

was followed immediately after by the capture of some five hundred troops by a small detachment of Canadians at Beaver Dams. These disasters led to the retirement of General Dearborn. But as the summer rolled on again the tide changed. The Canadian fleet on the lakes had all along been a chief dependence. The possession of Lake Erie meant the possession of the western peninsula of Upper Canada. It was the good fortune of the American Commodore Perry to capture the entire British fleet on Lake Erie. This left Colonel Proctor, who had borne his part well on the Detroit frontier, entirely helpless. His disastrous defeat, the attack upon him by General Harrison at Moravian Town, and the desperate conflict in which his brave colleague Tecumseh lost his life, are well known. Proctor was afterwards court-martialled and suspended from the service; but the sentence — considering his small force, not one half of his opponent's, the badness of the road, and his slow transport service up the Thames, as well as the confusion of his plans arising from the loss of the fleet — would seem to call for a more lenient judgment on the part of posterity.

SALABERRY STATUE.*

On the eastern frontier Canada won laurels. The affair at Chateauguay has always been regarded as noteworthy from the employment of French-Canadians, under their leader Colonel De Salaberry, himself, though an officer of the British regular army, a French-Canadian. Military critics give the closing battle of this year, Chrystler's Farm, on the St. Lawrence, where a Canadian force was completely successful, as the most scientifically fought battle of the war. The close of this year found the Americans in possession of the western peninsula of Upper Canada, but the Canadians full of hope on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. The last year of the war saw a powerful movement from the United States directed against the St. Lawrence region, but it was ineffectual, and Lake Ontario remained in possession of the British. In March of this year (1814) a strong delegation of Indians from the upper lakes, consisting of Ottawas, Ojibways, Shawanees, Delawares, Mohawks, Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos, and Winnebagoes, arrived in Montreal to swear allegiance to Britain. Their assistance was not so valuable as the encouragement given by the opinion of the red man — shrewd observer as he is — that the fortunes of war were with their ancient allies, and not in favor of the "Long-knives." The Niagara frontier was the last part of Canadian soil where the struggle continued, and here it was severe. A strong American force captured Fort Erie at the head of the Niagara River. The Canadians were repulsed in an attack on Chippewa, and were again compelled to fall back. But the arrival of General Drummond and strong reinforcements caused an advance, and then the bloodiest battle of the war, Lundy's Lane, was fought in a hand-to-hand struggle in the dark, for the contest lasted till midnight. Early in November the American force retired from the Canadian side, and the war, so far as Canada itself was concerned, was over. It was a joyful event when the news came that at Ghent, on December 14, 1814, the treaty of peace had been signed.

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* [After a photograph kindly furnished by Geo. Stewart, Jr., Esq., of Quebec. The statue was erected by a popular subscription in 1881. Cf. the portrait in B. Sulte's *Histoire des Canadiens-Francais.* — ED.]

The three years' contest had an important effect on Canada. Coöperation in defending their country had brought the Canadians into acquaintance with one another, and undoubtedly aroused a certain *esprit de corps* previously unknown. Certain important political consequences, as we shall see, followed from the "war of defence." The war had a most powerful influence in promoting emigration from Britain to Canada, or rather of giving force to the movements already acquiring strength, which had been fostered by Governor Simcoe and others. The Glengarry emigration, begun, as we have seen, from Scotland in 1802 by the priest Macdonell, was but an evidence of a widespread necessity which compelled thousands of the peasantry to leave their native hills and seek the new world. This was called the "Highland Clearances," meaning by the name the economic movement on the part of the landlords of Scotland to take the small holdings of the crofters and make great sheep-runs of them. With the justice of this step, or the great sufferings following to the expatriated people, we have here nothing to do. Suffice it to say that thousands of the homeless Highlanders found shelter on Canadian soil. One of the sympathetic men of the period was the Earl of Selkirk, who, though a nobleman of the Scottish border counties, had an admiration for the Highlanders. In 1804, under his guidance, eight hundred colonists were landed on Prince Edward Island; and shortly after a small body of the same band settled in the extreme west of the peninsula of Upper Canada. But in 1811–15, this adventurous nobleman sent by way of Hudson's Bay the first settlers to the prairies of the Northwest, and founded on the Red River the Selkirk Colony, which no doubt, amid the disputes as to boundaries and the shifting claims, preserved to Britain by this early occupation what forms Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, a part of Canada to-day.[1] Immediately after the war many of the Highland refugees came to join their compatriots in the Glengarry district, and to form new settlements on Colonel Talbot's domain in Upper Canada. This stream of Scottish immigration was not, in the provinces by the sea, interrupted even by the war of 1812. Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were so occupied that the best lands were taken by 1820, but remoter districts kept on filling up for years after. The close of the war of 1812–15 was also the period of the close of the great Napoleonic wars. The disbanding of many British regiments led to the arrival in Canada of large numbers of military colonists. The close of the war also brought great derangement of trade in Britain, and many operatives from the congested trade districts found their way to the new world. What may be called the Ottawa district, or part of the region known as Central Canada, was thus settled. The district south of the St. Lawrence, in the neighborhood of Montreal, in Lower Canada, and the eastern townships received large numbers of this military and operative population. While this immigration was largely Scottish, the poverty and distress in Ireland resulted in the British government sending thousands of Irish colonists to Upper Canada. Many townships in the unoccupied Ottawa region were thus filled, while the Newcastle district, lying between Lake Ontario and Rice Lake, and to the north of this, was settled by thousands from the Green Isle.

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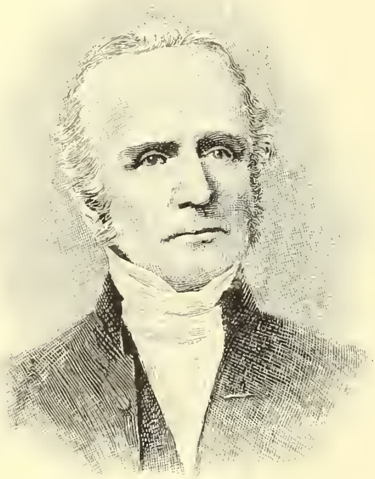
[1] See on this settlement, *ante*, ch. 1.

Perhaps the most remarkable immigration agency working in Canada was an association formed in 1825, called the "Canada Company." This great English company acquired upwards of two millions of acres of land in Upper and Lower Canada. The district lying along Lake Huron, hitherto entirely unknown, became the great centre of the company's operations. Two men known in the literary world, John Galt, the author of many works of fiction, and Dr. Dunlop, who is met as a character in Christopher North's "Noctes Ambrosianæ," were prominent officials of the company in Canada. The towns of Guelph, Stratford, and Goderich are centres to-day of what were the great Canada Company's lands. Other private enterprises, usually under government favor, and military settlements, from England, Ireland, and Scotland, brought a population to Upper and Lower Canada that really transformed the forest wastes into scenes of energy and thrift. This was by no means the end of the immigration to Canada, but so important was the influx of this period that from the close of the war up to the year 1835 has been aptly called the "making of Canada." The incidents of this coming of the people are many; and while they are beyond our scope, yet we may mention the terrible cholera plague of 1832–34, which followed the settlers from the old world to the new, and devastated Upper and Lower Canada. Reference might also be made to the altogether phenomenal "Miramichi fire," which in 1825 swept like a hurricane across the northern part of New Brunswick, and left a memory of terror over that whole region.

The political history of Canada, as already said, takes its color from the loyalist and military character of its people. While there is much that is beautiful and admirable in the constancy and devotion of the United Empire loyalists, yet their political principles savor of narrowness and tyranny. The governors Bernard and Hutchinson, and men of their stamp, who were strong factors in bringing on the American Revolution, made no secret of their belief that the interests of the governing class were superior to those of the people. To certain persons fitted for the trust is committed the duty of ruling those who have no such faculty. The Roman patrician believed himself a heaven-born ruler, and trampled on the plebs; the Jewish Pharisee, filled with the spirit of his order, asked with surprise in regard to the new teacher, "Have any of the rulers believed on him?" English cavaliers thought it their right to domineer over the sharp-bearded Puritans; Scottish Jacobites, holding themselves as the party constituted by divine right, even when overcome would not for generations surrender the lost cause; so the loyalists, coming with principles which had proved themselves untenable in the United States, sought to plant them in their newly formed colonies. They succeeded well in New Brunswick; in Upper Canada, where the elements of population were more mixed, they struggled with desperation, and for many years maintained a disturbed sway. The military immigration from Britain fell in well with the loyalists. The soldier is ever the advocate of a privileged class. As the ruler exacts submission because he is born to command, so the soldier demands special recognition because it is his business to defend the state. In Upper Canada the first governor, Simcoe, had his period of rule shortened because he was not subservient to the behests of the domineering land-grasping class. His successor gave full opportunity for building up, at the expense of the province, a band of landed favorites. In the last year of the last century arrived in Canada, as governor, General Peter Hunter. In his time of six years the loyalist feeling strengthened greatly. As already noted, in 1804 there was passed an act which showed at the same time the fears of the loyalists that they would be outnumbered, and made clear the unflinching character of their leaders and the extreme measures they were ready to adopt. The "Sedition Act" gave power to arrest any person who had been less than six months in the province, and who had seditious intent to disturb the tranquillity of the country. A civilian governor, Francis Gore, in 1806 came to rule the disturbed province. He was a good-tempered but inactive man, and became a tool in the hands of the loyalist leaders. The oligarchy was not, however, to have all its own way. A high-minded and popular judge, who was disposed to sympathize with the people, and who was, contrary to the will of the ruling powers, elected to the legislative council, was severely taken to task by the government *Gazette*. It was to defend the right that the journal already mentioned, the *Guardian*, was begun. Its editor, a fiery Irishman, Joseph Willcocks, soon felt the power of the oligarchy by being cast into prison for libel; while Judge Thorpe, the real object of the rulers' dislike, was taken from the evil by being recalled to England by the Colonial office. Even to express a favorable opinion of the party of liberty was a fault; as an Englishman of property and position, who ventured to raise his voice in favor of justice, soon learned. Writing a pamphlet, not by any means of an outrageous character, brought down upon this offender's head an address of the legislature to the lieutenant-governor, which expressed "abhorrence and detestation of an infamous and seditious libel signed 'John Mills Jackson.'" The temper thus displayed, while not able to injure the Englishman in his sea-girt isle, was a clear exhibition of the system of tyranny in vogue.

The war of 1812 hushed the noise of political strife, but, as has been said, produced political consequences of much importance. The loyalists and their military associates became the leaders in the defence of the country, and thus gained great influence. Accustomed to coöperate in war, their leaders from Kingston, Glengarry, Bay of Quinté, York, and the Niagara frontier were more firmly banded together after the war in their determined scheme to rule the province. To raise a finger against those who had saved the country to Britain was construed into a breach of loyalty to be instantly repressed. This coöperation was much assisted by the strong, formative mind of a shrewd ecclesiastic. Among the leaders of public opinion during the war of 1812–15, at the capital of the province, was the active rector of York, — a Scotchman, John Strachan, — not yet forty years of age, but zealous and intense. Amid the disasters and sufferings of the war he had established a benevolent organization, called the "Loyal and Patriotic Society"; it was at the earnest entreaties of the rector that the sparing of York from flames was granted by the Americans. This man was destined to become the dictator of Upper Canada. In the last year of the war so valuable was his aid that he was made a member of the executive council, and five years afterward he became a member of the legislative council. He was a thorough conservative in church and state; he was ardent and sympathetic; was determined and subtle; had the faculty of laying hold of promising young men and pushing them forward to be useful to his party. Chief Justice Powell was a leader of the party; and in the year 1821 there was brought forward a young lawyer of promise, of


SIR JOHN BEVERLY ROBINSON.*

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* [After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *British Americans* (Montreal, 1868). Robinson was a descendant of Christopher Robinson, who came to Virginia as secretary to Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia. Sir John was the son of Christopher Robinson, who graduated at the College of William and Mary, and during the American Revolutionary War joined Simcoe's Rangers, and at the peace, settled with other loyalists in New Brunswick, whence in 1788 he removed to Canada, where Sir John was born, July 26, 1791, in the very year in which a Parliamentary act divided Canada into the Upper and Lower provinces, in the former of which he was destined to reach its highest judicial station as its Chief Justice (1829). He served under Brock at Detroit and Queenstown in the war of 1812. He died Jan. 31, 1863. — ED.]

true U. E. loyalist stock, — John Beverly, afterwards chief justice, Robinson. These and others of like opinions and of much influence formed themselves into a cabal, probably apprehensive of the changes in political opinion or in religion that seemed to be threatening. This was rendered all the easier by the return as governor for three years, after the war, of the willing servant of the oligarchy — Francis Gore. The thorough conviction and earnestness of the loyalists gave their party its force, and while this does not carry our sympathy it wins our respect. By the year 1820 the dominant party was definitely formed, and for many years was known as the "Family Compact." In 1817 there had come to Canada a Scottish gentleman, of erratic disposition and changing fortune, — Robert Gourlay. He established himself as a land agent, and in the pursuit of his business circulated a list of queries throughout Upper Canada, which were regarded as an attack on the ruling powers. Gourlay became the object of the hatred of the junto. At Kingston, and again at Brockville, the agitator was arrested and tried, but acquitted; with singular animosity he was followed, and again arrested and tried, at Niagara, under the Sedition Act of 1804. The offender was certainly not within the range of that law, but a loyalist judge and jury found him guilty, and in the end the unfortunate man, worn out with persecution, was driven from the province. The executive council was supreme; it was not subject to either legislative council or assembly. Patronage was dispensed with lavish hands on the favorites of the rulers. The condemnation of Gourlay was an act of unpardonable tyranny, and sent a thrill of disgust through the hearts of the people. His cause they knew to be theirs; and so in 1824 there was elected a house of assembly hostile to the dominant cabal. This people's assembly was only laughed at by the oligarchy.

In the mean time the pliable governor had been replaced by Sir Peregrine Maitland, a man of high English connection and strong oligarchic tendencies. The people's assembly contained, as friends of freedom and enemies of the government, the polished American Bidwell, the people's tribune, Perry, and the astute Englishman, Dr. John Rolph. These did yeoman service for the popular cause. In the same year was begun the *Colonial Advocate*, a popular newspaper, conducted by one of the men who most largely influenced his time, and of whom we must know more — William Lyon Mackenzie. This newspaper became a chief instrument in exposing grievances and helping the popular ferment. It became in consequence the main object of loyalist hatred, so that in two years it brought upon itself the wrath of the younger members of the loyalist party, who entered the office, tore the paper to shreds, and threw the type into Toronto Bay. The editor, Mackenzie, hitherto as poor as he was ardent and abusive, succeeded in recovering heavy damages, which gave new life to his newspaper enterprise. In two years more the persecuted editor was elected a member of the assembly. At the same time when Mackenzie was elected to the house, a gentleman of pure life and singularly attractive qualities, named Robert Baldwin, was chosen to represent the popular cause by the town of York, the very centre of the government party. The struggle continued with unabated fury. The dominant party was greatly assisted by a headstrong British officer, Sir John Colborne, sent at this time to replace Governor Maitland. Various cases of oppression were collected by the agitators, and the most made of them. A British officer who had espoused the popular cause was charged with disloyalty for having, in a time of hilarity, called on a band of strolling players for a selection of American airs; a judge who refused to become a member of the ruling faction was removed from his position; an innkeeper of Niagara had his buildings torn down by the hands of the military under the direction of the cabal; while a fierce libel case against a vituperative Irish radical editor raised popular feeling to the highest pitch.

The struggle had settled down to a life-and-death contest between executive council and legislative assembly. Fuel to the flame was supplied by a religious question, which in even the shortest sketch of Canadian history must have a chief place. This is what is known as the Clergy Reserve controversy. It was the thirty years' religious war of Upper Canada. The union of church and state was a prominent tenet of the loyalists. It was no wonder that the "Constitutional Act of 1791," obtained by the loyalist leaders from a sympathetic parliament, and in the face of the strong French and Roman Catholic element of the province of Quebec, should contain a provision allotting one seventh of all the crown lands for "the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy." It seemed to anxious souls the only safeguard when political power was being entrusted to the aliens of Lower Canada. The unorganized state of the country and the trifling value of the wild lands of the province led to this potent germ of dissension lying inactive for wellnigh thirty years, though shortly after 1791 two and a half millions of acres of the public domain in Upper Canada and about one million in Lower Canada were set apart for this purpose. Murmurs of discontent had been heard in Lower Canada; the radical Gourlay had called attention to the matter in Upper Canada; a member of the legislature had moved to have a portion of the lands sold, but Governor Gore shelved the question by a sudden prorogation; the case of a Scottish Presbyterian congregation in Niagara, which had lost its church during the late war, had raised a temporary building, and then proffered a request to the government for £100 from the clergy reserve fund, however brought up the question which was to be a bone of contention, and to ruin government after government. Lord Bathurst, the British colonial secretary, gave it as the opinion of the law officers that the expression "Protestant clergy" might apply to the ministers of the national Church of Scotland as well as to that of England, but not to dissenters, inasmuch as the last were not recognized by law. What the original intention of the act was has been much debated. It was even a matter of perplexity at the time of its passage. Lord Grenville then declared that the bill "meant to provide for any clergy that was not Roman Catholic." There can be no doubt that many members of parliament on the other hand took it to be simply a provision for the Church of England. The further clause in the act, giving power to "erect parsonages and endow them, and to present incumbents of ministers of the Church of England," is a pretty clear indication that the original intention debarred Presbyterians and all others outside the Episcopal Church. Sir Peregrine Maitland, though possessed of the opinion of Lord Bathurst, concealed this from the knowledge of the public. Other applications were made by the ministers of the Scottish Church in Canada for assistance. Early in 1823, the redoubtable leader Dr. Strachan, as chairman of the Upper Canada clergy reserves corporation, forwarded to Earl Bathurst a strong plea for the endowment of the Church of England alone. The tone of this petition may be seen from its opening sentiment: "That the province of Upper Canada was settled by loyalists from the United States, who were chiefly Episcopalians, ever distinguished in the colonies on account of their affection for the parent state and their incorruptible attachment to the king." To the petition was attached an "Ecclesiastical Chart," whose claims were indignantly contradicted by all the Canadians outside the pale of the doctor's own Church. Late in the same year, the Hon. William Morris, a member of the assembly, succeeded in carrying a series of resolutions, declaring the right of the Church of Scotland in the province to participate in the government provision for religion; the address was, however, by a narrow majority, rejected by the legislative council. Governor Maitland sent despatches to the Colonial office strenuously upholding the claim of the Church of England. This was soon followed by a visit of Dr. Strachan to England, which resulted in a decision to sell part of the lands to the Canada Company, then about to be established. On the occasion of the funeral of Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, Dr. Strachan took the opportunity in his sermon to speak in behalf of his own narrow position. Among other things the fiery partisan said: "The religious teachers of the other denominations of Christians, a very few acceptable ministers of the Church of Scotland excepted, come almost universally from the Republican States of America, where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments." The charge of disloyalty covertly contained in these words was mainly directed against the Methodist itinerants who were zealously advancing their cause. This unwarrantable attack drew forth an impassioned reply

BISHOP STRACHAN.*

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* After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *Brit. Americans*, vol. iii.

from a young Methodist preacher, afterwards of great fame, — Egerton Ryerson, the son of a United Empire loyalist. He pointed out that "the Methodists had no law to secure a foot of land for parsonages, chapels, and the burial of the dead; their ministers were not allowed to solemnize matrimony; and some of them had been the objects of cruel and illegal persecution on the part of magistrates and others in authority." On the 27th January, 1826, an address to the king was adopted by the legislative assembly, in which the claim was made "that the lands set apart in this province for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy ought not to be enjoyed by any one denomination of Protestants to the exclusion of their Christian brethren of other denominations, equally conscientious in their respective modes of worshipping God, and equally entitled, as dutiful and loyal subjects, to the protection of your Majesty's benign and liberal government." An alteration was now suggested, to the effect that "the clergy reserve fund should be devoted to the advancement of the Christian religion generally, . . . of whatever denomination, or to be applied to the purposes of education and the general improvement of the province." To this address a reply came from Britain, saying that the reserves had been "specially allotted by the Imperial Parliament to the Established Church." That the unfairness of the contention of those who desired to claim the whole reserve fund was recognized by the imperial authorities is shown by the fact that about this time it was decided to give from the funds arising from the sale of lands to the Canada Company £750 per annum to the Church of Scotland, and £750 to the Roman Catholics in Upper Canada, and these payments were made in 1827. In January of that year a series of strong resolutions passed the assembly by a large majority in favor of the several claimants, but these were again thrown out by the legislative council. The active ecclesiastic who led the movement was not at this time idle. Crossing to England, the "incomparable" doctor succeeded in obtaining a royal charter for an Upper Canadian university, to be called the University of King's College. This, though an entirely sectarian institution, whose every official was required to sign the "Thirty-nine Articles," was given an endowment of 225,000 acres of wild land, and a grant of £1000 a year for sixteen years.

During Dr. Strachan's visit in England he published a "letter and ecclesiastical chart," around which raged even a fiercer controversy than in the case of the former chart. Years of agitation were arousing the popular mind in Canada, and the charges of Jesuitry and bad faith were freely brought against the ecclesiastical politician. The popular excitement resulted in an inquiry by the assembly into the truth of the letter and chart, and the decision was given that they were likely to "produce erroneous impressions respecting the religious state of this province and the sentiments of its inhabitants." This report, dated 1828, states further that the whole province, and not only the loyalists, had passed through a war, "which had put to the proof the loyalty of the people," and declaration was made against the university that "it should not be a school of political or sectarian views." Another address was forwarded to the king, and the country was stirred to the very centre by public meetings and church courts declaring their views. The new governor, Sir John Colborne, a bigoted partisan, was forced in 1830 to transmit a petition for the dissenting Presbyterian clergymen, and even he was compelled to recommend consideration for "these most diligent ministers." Year after year, with changing front, this religious battle raged, till in 1836 the country was startled by Sir John Colborne erecting in a clandestine manner, under the clause of the "Constitutional Act" so long held in abeyance, forty-four rectories of the Church of England, and endowing these with extensive and valuable glebe lands. It had been intended to establish fifty-seven rectories, but the plot was discovered before all the patents were signed. The rebellion of the year after, to which we shall recur, was undoubtedly stimulated by this obnoxious course of action, and soon after it had been quelled the controversy assumed a new form. The ruling powers regarded the matter now simply as a difficulty to be adjusted. In 1840 the exclusive claim of the Church of England was denied, and that of all the other bodies of Protestants admitted, by the assembly, but this view was not taken in England. An act was, however, passed with the declared purpose of removing the matter from the field of controversy, by vesting the fund from the sale of lands in the "Imperial Parliament for religious purposes." This anomalous result was reached by the division which had been made between the subtle leader Ryerson and the political leaders of the agitation. Three years after, the revenue from the reserves proving trifling, Bishop Strachan began an agitation to amend the act of 1840, and Ryerson and the bishop and all the politicians of the country engaged in a most unseemly strife over this religious question. In three years more the bishop proposed to divide the lands among the several religious bodies. This device captured a number of his opponents, and added the charges of treachery to the tumult of the conflict. In four years more the legislature asked the transfer from imperial control to Canada again. In 1853 the transfer to Canada was made, as desired. The liberal ministry was led by Francis Hincks, one of the most determined enemies of church and state in Canada. He had long stood in the front of the battle, and was ready to apply a simple remedy to the clergy reserves difficulty; but his Lower Canadian Roman Catholic allies were afraid to

SIR FRANCIS HINCKS.*

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* After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *Brit. Americans*, vol. iii.

secularize what seemed to them consecrated funds, and popular will, rising in its strength, swept the halting ministry from power. In 1854 the McNab-Morin ministry — loyalists of the highest order — stole the thunder of their divided liberal opponents, and passed an act which secured the life interests of the clergy already receiving grants, and gave the surplus to education.

Thus ended a struggle, long and tedious, and made more so by the craft, instability, and selfishness of those who should have been models of simplicity and sincerity. It was, however, one of those powerful agents which welded the settlers together, and moulded them into a discriminating and liberty-loving people. The Clergy Reserve contest was but one of the incidents in the struggle for freedom against oligarchic rule.

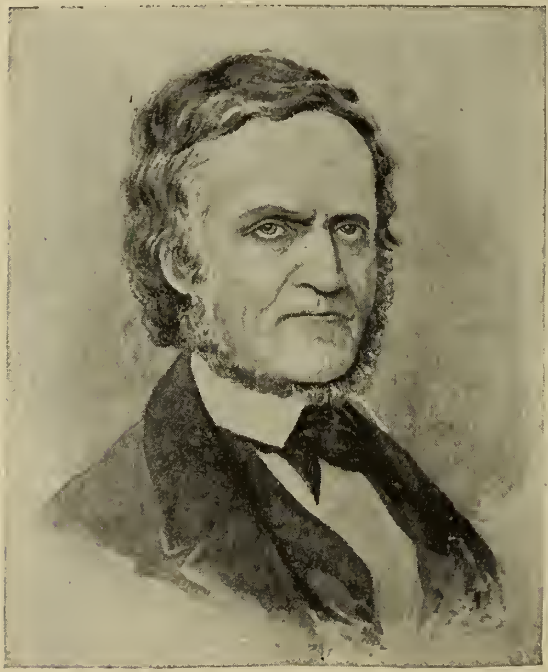
LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU.*

In Lower Canada, as well as in the upper province, the struggle for freedom was going on. No sooner had the echoes of Chrystler's Farm and Chateauguay begun to die out than the spirit of French-Canadian political discontent appeared. Two years after the close of the war there was elected to the speakership of the Lower Canadian assembly a brilliant young French-Canadian, who had commanded a militia corps of his countrymen in the war. This was Louis Papineau. For twenty years, almost without interruption, Papineau was speaker of the house and leader of the French-Canadians. During this period of uncertainty, Lord Dalhousie, a stern but honest British general, was governor-general, having previously been governor of Nova Scotia. Fearing the dangerous tone of Papineau and his associates, one of whom was Dr. Wolfred Nelson, a Montrealer of United Empire loyalist blood, Lord Dalhousie refused to recognize the popular French-Canadian leader as speaker, and prorogued the assembly. The ensuing ferment led to the transfer of the governor to India, and to the appointment by the imperial parliament of the "Canada Committee," which gave in a wise and able report, recommending that the "legislative assemblies and the executive government of Canada (both Upper and Lower) be put on a right footing." All eyes were, however, too blinded with prejudice to adopt this remedy, which would have met the case. In 1832, to quiet public excitement, the British government gave over to the assembly in Lower Canada the control of the local revenue. The opportunity was thus in the hands of the French Canadians to tyrannize over the judges and civil servants, who were chiefly English, by refus-

* After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *Brit. Americans*, iii. He was born in October, 1789.

ing to pay their allowances. Within five years nearly £150,000 of arrears were due on this civil list. The case was so serious that an imperial commission had been appointed to consider it. In 1834 the French-Canadians had vindicated themselves in a quasi-claim of right by the passage of "ninety-two resolutions." Societies were formed by the English-speaking people of Lower Canada called "Constitutional Associations." These sought at the same time to keep up the oligarchic rule and to make themselves the defenders of British connection. The question of loyalty was really not at stake, but the heat of the agitation completely obscured the main questions of liberty. In 1837 Lord John Russell moved four resolutions in the British parliament, condemning the action of the legislative assembly, and yet preserving the non-elective character of the council, against which principle the Lower Canadians, along with the majority of Upper Canada, loudly inveighed. This action added fuel to the flame. A Lower Canadian journal declared: "Henceforth there must be no peace in the province — no quarter for the plunderers. Agitate! Agitate! Agitate! Destroy the revenue; denounce the oppressors. Everything is lawful when the fundamental liberties are in danger. The guards die — they never surrender!" During the year of Lord John's resolutions large and excited meetings were held throughout the districts in Lower Canada. At one of these, on the Richelieu River, twelve hundred people were present, and Papineau, the idol of the people, was lauded to the skies, and a fund called the "Papineau tribute" begun for the support of the *uncrowned king*. A meeting of five thousand persons was held a few months later at St. Charles on the Richelieu, and a "column" with the "cap of liberty" upon it was erected. Young French-Canadians banded themselves into societies called "Sons of Liberty," and members of the legislative assembly, in token of their disrespect for the ruling powers, appeared in the house dressed in homespun ("étoffe du pays"), thus showing their determination to purchase nothing of British manufacture. The more ardent spirits began to meet secretly to drill; collisions of the "Sons of Liberty" and the "Constitutionalists" took place, and the outlook became so threatening that the bishop, Monseigneur Lartigue, issued a pastoral to soothe the turbulent feelings of his countrymen. The determined soldier Sir John Colborne, now with headquarters in Montreal, and with almost all the troops from Upper Canada concentrated at that point, forbade drilling, and prepared to crush sedition wherever it should show itself. In November the blow fell. At St. Charles and St. Denis bands of insurgents were gathered together. Dr. Nelson at St. Denis made for a time a strong resistance, but afterwards gave way, while at St. Charles, the headquarters of revolt, a bold stand was made, to be, however, ended by the determined attack of Colonel Wetherall. Nelson was taken; and the leader of the St. Charles rebels escaped, as did also Papineau, to the United States. A few trifling demonstrations northwest of Montreal brought the fiasco to an end.

Meanwhile, in Upper Canada, the fires of discontent had been burning also. Not only the clergy reserve agitation, but many other grievances, excited the people. The struggle centred in the legislative halls in York. Though the people's parliament had been elected so early as 1824, yet the "Family Compact" began to use the arts well known to tyrants, of misrepresentation, secret plottings, and social disparagement. Against William Lyon Mackenzie, fiery and radical Scotchman as he was, their arms were turned, for Dr. Strachan detested his impulsive fellow-countryman. Mackenzie was elected in 1828 to the assembly. But the fiery advocate of the people was more radical than men of the Bidwell and Baldwin type, and so about the year 1830 a line of cleavage began to appear among the opponents of the Family Compact. The wily politician Ryerson also began, as has been already said, to veer about on the Clergy Reserve question. The members of the Family Compact were too experienced and too shrewd to fail in adopting the motto of tyrants older than they: "Divide et impera." In consequence, the Family Compact in 1830 gained ground, and in the year following passed what was known as the "Everlasting Salary Bill," by which judges and members of the executive council were made independent as to salary of the vote of the assembly. In the elections for the new assembly, Baldwin, Rolph, and other leaders were defeated, though Mackenzie was elected for the metropolitan county of York. The majority of the house, encouraged by their victory, vented their spleen on the virulent editor by thrice expelling him from the house, though he returned in each case elected by a larger majority than before. Mackenzie was now in the zenith. He was the people's tribune, and on visiting England received the solemn assurance from the British law officers that his expulsion had been thoroughly illegal. Returning to Canada, the martyr was again elected, and followed to the house by a great crowd of his constituents demanding admission; but the same refusal was given by the



WILLIAM L. MACKENZIE.*

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* After a likeness in Charles Lindsey's *Life and Times of Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1863).

dominant majority. The persecuted editor had now become the most popular man in Canada, and in 1834 was elected first mayor of the city of Toronto, as the newly incorporated town of York then began to be called. This victory took place in the very centre of Family Compact influence.

In the same year, a letter received from a leading English radical of renown, Joseph Hume, was published in the *Colonial Advocate* by Mackenzie. In this letter, referring to Mackenzie's expulsion, the English radical said such proceedings must "terminate in independence and freedom from the *baneful domination* of the mother country." This unfortunate expression thus adopted by Mackenzie alienated many of his associates, including the astute clerical politician, Egerton Ryerson. Notwithstanding the defection of some of their supporters, the opponents of the oligarchy carried the elections of this time, and Mr. Bidwell was elected speaker of the house by a small majority. This assembly was one of the most important that ever met in Upper Canada. A special committee on grievances was appointed, with Mackenzie as chairman. In April, 1835, there was prepared the *Seventh Report of the Grievance Committee*, a most comprehensive and telling exposure of the whole system of Family Compact government, and which led to the recall of Sir John Colborne, the oligarchist governor.

The friends of liberty, rejoicing over the departure of Governor Colborne, were in high expectations when it was announced that Sir Francis Bond Head, a distinguished author and traveller, and heralded as a "tried reformer," had been appointed governor. But the new governor was absolutely unacquainted with the duties of his office, and at once showed a strong dislike to the opponents of the government, considering that they were not a party of gentlemen. In the general election of 1836 the new governor took a prominent and undignified part. On Mackenzie's section of the liberal party suspicion had fallen in consequence of the "baneful domination" letter, as it was called, and of other utterances somewhat disloyal. The Family Compact organized the "British Constitutional Society," and their cry was, "Hurrah for Sir Francis Head and British connection!" The population of the province had nearly doubled by the influx of British

SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD.*

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* After a likeness in Charles Lindsey's *Life and Times of Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1863).

settlers, and to the great surprise of Mackenzie and his followers these were found to respond to the misleading cry of British connection; and so overwhelming was the triumph of the Family Compact in the general election that Bidwell, Perry, Lount, and even Mackenzie himself were all defeated, and their party left in a hopeless minority.

Mackenzie was exasperated. His newspaper was resumed under the name of *The Constitution*, and its attacks were most virulent. The popular mind, however, soon reacted from the position taken in favor of Family Compactism, and public feeling turned against the governor who had interfered in so grossly unfair a manner in carrying the elections. Now would have been the time for wisdom and self-control. But these were the very qualities lacking in Mackenzie. Secret messages passed constantly between Papineau, the leader of the Lower Canadian sedition, and Mackenzie. Indeed, one of the main instruments in carrying the elections against the friends of liberty was an unwise letter from Papineau, which Bidwell, the speaker of the assembly, had read to the house while in session. About the end of July, 1837, a society called the "Committee of Vigilance" was formed, and Mackenzie was chosen as agent and corresponding secretary. There does not seem to have been any intention of rebellion in the forming of the organization. Bidwell was entirely opposed to violent measures; Rolph temporized; on the ardent Mackenzie must be the responsibility of shaping its action. The troops had all been taken to Montreal on account of Papineau's rebellion, and concerted action was intended by Mackenzie and Papineau. Less than twenty-four hours before the St. Charles attack in Lower Canada, Mackenzie left Rolph's house in Toronto to rouse his followers. On the following day a revolutionary manifesto was issued, headed, "Proclamation by William Lyon Mackenzie, Chairman pro tem. of the Provisional Government of the State of Upper Canada." In the document were such sentiments as, "Rise, Canadians! Rise as one man, and the glorious object of our wishes is accomplished."

MACLEOD.*

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* After a likeness in Charles Lindsey's *Life and Times of Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1863).

The rendezvous of the rebels was on Yonge Street, a few miles north of Toronto. On the 4th of December, 1837, some eight hundred insurgents had assembled. The country was certainly very apathetic. Toronto, a town of twelve thousand people, had no defenders, and the rebels might easily have taken possession of it. No action being taken, time was given for Colonel Allan MacNab and the men of Gore district to arrive at Toronto for its defence. A skirmish ensued, in which the rebels were scattered, and Mackenzie, with £1,000 reward upon his head, became an exile. A toilsome and dangerous journey led the arch-rebel to the United States, by way of the Niagara River. The provisional government was organized on Navy Island. The patriot flag, with twin stars and the motto "Liberty and Equality," was then given to the breeze. A daring action, which threatened international complications, was the cutting out the steamer "Caroline" from under the guns of Fort Schlosser, an American vessel, which was, on capture, sent adrift over the falls of Niagara. This was done by a band under Captain Drew, an officer of MacNab's command, and was participated in by one Macleod, who by his action gave his name to a famous case in the diplomacy of the United States and Great Britain.[1] Other slight skirmishes brought the Upper Canadian rebellion to an end.[2]

The wrongs which led to the rebellion may justly be laid at the door of the Family Compact. Both in Upper and Lower Canada there was a direct refusal, in the existence of the executive and legislative councils, which were crown-appointed, to acknowledge the popular will. Undoubtedly the most beneficial results followed these rebellions. They broke down the unfair system of governing French Canada; they sounded the knell of Family Compactism in Upper Canada; but they reflect no glory — not even credit — on those who led them. Mackenzie, by constitutional means, by patiently awaiting the tide which had turned in his favor, might have secured all that was obtained. Desolated homes, himself and his compatriots in exile, hatreds and bitter feelings which took a score of years to allay, might all have been avoided, had more pacific and considerate counsels prevailed.

The rebellions in Canada led to a rude awakening of the authorities in London. Too often it has been the case in colonial affairs that only after serious injury has been done is attention paid to the storm of discontent. The young Queen Victoria had just ascended the throne, and her reign was to be one of benevolence. A brilliant young statesman of Britain, of the liberal school, was sent to Canada as governor-general in 1838, to study the wants of Canada and recommend a remedy for the grievances. This was John George Lambton, better known as the Earl of Durham, a cultivated, keen-sighted man, albeit somewhat sybaritic in his habits. Amid much splendor the new governor arrived in Quebec. A difficulty met him on the very threshold. This was the disposal of the prisoners taken in the Lower

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[1] See *ante*, VII. 494.

[2] On the battle of Fighting Island (Detroit River), see *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, vii. 89.

Canadian rebellion. Intending it as a merciful expedient, Lord Durham, contrary to the law of the land, exiled sixteen of these rebels, including Wolfred Nelson, sending them to Bermuda. His political enemies in Britain were not slow to take advantage of the earl's mistake. They contemptuously denounced him as the "Lord High Seditioner," and made out so clear a case that the home government was compelled to disallow his exile ordinance. This stung to the quick the mettlesome governor, and led him into the grave error of publicly attacking his British superiors, and made his stay in Canada but a short one. Notwithstanding this irritation and his delicate health, Lord Durham undertook his work with immense energy and rare skill. No one in the whole range of colonial governors ever showed such keen insight into Canadian affairs and was so fertile in expedients to remedy the evils. The report which was prepared by the earl, with his band of skilled assistants, chief of whom was Mr. Charles Buller, is, with its elaborate appendices, a monument of wonderful industry and acuteness. It declares "that the same grievances to a large extent prevail in all the provinces; while the present state of things is allowed to last, the actual inhabitants of these provinces have no security for person or property, no enjoyment of what they possess, no stimulus to industry." These were strong words, but they were equalled by the decided opinion expressed of Lower Canada. While Lord Durham admired the French-Canadians for their mildness and amiability, he saw danger to the state in their being "an utterly uneducated and singularly inert population." "They remain," he continued, "an old and stationary society in a new and progressive world." He boldly asserted that "in Lower Canada the real struggle was not one of principles but of race." The report stated that in all the colonies "there was a collision between the executive and representative bodies." Lord Durham struck the keynote of the reforms of later years in declaring that "since 1688 the stability of Britain had depended on the responsibility of the government to the majority of the legislature."

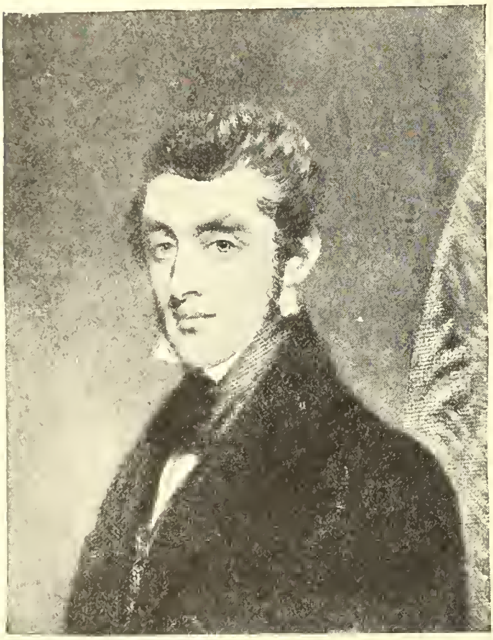
Lord Durham's report suggested a union of all the provinces, and was thus the prophecy of confederation, though for immediate action the union of Upper and Lower Canada only was recommended, and the establishment in united Canada of a responsible government. No grander work was ever done for Canada than the writing of this report. John Stuart Mill spoke of it as "laying the foundation of the political and social prosperity not of Canada only, but of all the other colonies of Great Britain." Justin McCarthy, in his *History of Our Own Times*, thus sums up Lord Durham's mistakes and successes: "But if Lord Durham's personal career was in any way a failure, his policy for the Canadas was a splendid success. It established the principle of colonial government. One may say, with little help from the merely fanciful, that the rejoicings of emancipated colonies might have been in his dying ears as he sank into his early grave."

In 1839 Lord John Russell introduced a bill into parliament embodying Lord Durham's suggestions; but before its final passage a messenger was sent to Canada to feel the pulse of the provinces regarding it. The envoy charged with this delicate task was an English merchant, John Poulett Thomson, and well did he accomplish his work. In Lower Canada the legislative assembly had been suspended during the rebellion, and its substitute, a crown-appointed body, accepted the act because it emanated from the Colonial office, and this without consulting the French-Canadians. In Upper Canada it needed all the commissioner's skill to gain its acceptance. The loyalists, flushed with their victory over the rebels, were in no humor to give up any advantage, which they saw must be done should the radicals of Upper Canada, aided by the vast majority of Lower Canada, be banded against them. A strong appeal to their patriotism, however, at length gained their consent. After this consultation with the provinces the matter again came up in the British parliament, and the "Act to reunite the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada" became law, July 23, 1840. The chief new features of the measure passed were that the legislative assembly was to consist of an equal number of members from Upper and from Lower Canada. The English language alone was to be used in parliament, but this was modified in after years. A new, fixed civil list was made, over which the assembly had no control, and ecclesiastical rights also were under the immediate protection of the crown, while the assembly was given exclusive power to levy taxes. The "burning question" in the minds of the people was the direct control of the executive by the legislature. This was not specifically declared in the new act, but there was a proviso that the governor should only exercise power according to instructions from Her Majesty. The intention of this provision was shown shortly after by a despatch received by the governor-general in 1841, that "the governor must only oppose the wishes of the assembly when the honor of the crown or the interests of the empire are deeply concerned."

The people waited now with anxious expectation to see whether their long struggle for liberty was really to be fruitless, for experience had shown them that fair promises were often deceptive. The various elements of the people received the new constitution in different ways. The moderate opponents of the Family Compact were delighted with the changes ; the rebel party of Upper Canada were only partially satisfied ; the French-Canadians of Lower Canada showed their want of appreciation of the act by sending a petition signed by 40,000 persons to the imperial parliament against it ; while the loyalists were naturally nervous lest all their privileges should be shorn away by the new measure, which they thought the outcome of the democratic tendencies of Lord Durham.

The golden mean had evidently been gained, and the astute commissioner, Mr. Thomson, was raised to the peerage as Lord Sydenham, by an appreciative government in London.

The influx of British colonists not only to Upper and Lower Canada, but to the maritime provinces, more especially to New Brunswick, was very great during the years from 1830 to 1850. The two years of the rebellion, 1837 and 1838, checked somewhat the flow that was setting in with such force, but the passage of the Union Act immediately restored confidence abroad. The introduction of the new constitution was looked to with great expectancy by the people of both provinces concerned. The chief responsibility fell upon Lord Sydenham, who was a nervous and delicate man. Pursuing a most conciliatory policy, he chose his cabinet from the moderate members of both sides of politics. The champion of the moderate liberals was Robert Baldwin, a man of high character and equable disposition, and whose name has a sweet odor in Canada even to this day. With him was associated as a moderate loyalist Mr., afterwards Chief Justice, Draper. As a condition of support from the opposite side, Draper was pressed to declare his policy on the question of responsible government. There being only seven of the now discredited Family Compact in a house of eighty-four, Draper temporized.



LORD SYDENHAM.*

Lord Sydenham survived but long enough to see the new constitution fairly at work, and passed away amid general regret. His successor lived only two years, but in 1843 came a ruler of the old oligarchic type. This was Governor Metcalfe, who had filled important posts in India and Jamaica. He derided the very theory of responsible government so dear to the Canadians. In speaking of the restriction of his powers, he declared his position to be no better than that of "an Indian governor compelled to rule by means of a Mahommedan ministry and a Mahommedan parliament." Egerton Ryerson, who had been looked to as an exponent of liberty, was found among Governor Metcalfe's apologists. The governor, having previously differed with the great commoner Robert Baldwin, as to the question of responsibility, brought on a crisis in the autumn of 1843 by making an appointment without the advice of his council. The ministry at once resigned, and suitable successors were only found with difficulty. The governor, however, succeeded in keeping the favor of his superiors in London, who raised him to the peerage, but he had so evidently lost public respect in Canada that he soon after resigned and returned to Britain.

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* After a plate in George Poulett Scrope's *Life of Charles, Lord Sydenham*, 2d ed. (London, 1854).

In the provinces by the sea a similar struggle took place. In Nova Scotia an oligarchy held sway. This was also known as the Family Compact. Against an arbitrary governor, Sir Colin Campbell, who refused to be advised by the assembly, and chose as members of the executive and legislative councils only his own creatures, popular feeling ran high. To both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, after the reception of Lord Durham's report in 1839, had been sent by Lord Russell a despatch containing the new Canadian constitution. Sir John Harvey, governor of New Brunswick, had commended it as worthy of imitation in the maritime provinces. New Brunswick, which had from the first been exclusively loyalist in opinion, rejected this suggestion. In Nova Scotia, Sir Colin shamelessly suppressed the despatch. A man of great influence among the people had been for three or four years rising to prominence in the legislative assembly of Nova Scotia. This was Joseph Howe, the son of a United Empire loyalist. In 1840 the Nova Scotian assembly, led by Howe, passed four resolutions upholding the doctrine of responsible government and declaring want of confidence in the executive. The stern soldier-governor declared his advisers satisfactory to himself, and refused any advice. At length the assembly was compelled to request from Britain the governor's recall. This took place, and Viscount Falkland came as successor. Foot by foot the battle of responsibility was fought, till at length in Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick as well, the same principles prevailed as those which had been secured in Canada.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN HARVEY.*

The general election of 1844 in Canada, on account of Lord Metcalfe's interference, resulted in a small majority being returned for the loyalist party, who now sought to adjust themselves to the new conditions. In the next year in the assembly came a claim, because for the first time since the rebellion the loyalists were in power. This was for losses incurred by loyal subjects during the rebellion. An amount of £10,000 was voted for the loyalists of Upper Canada. As was natural, from Lower Canada came a similar demand, as there the rebellion had been much more widespread and the destruction of property greater. In fairness this could not be refused, and yet the loyalists of Upper Canada charged that so general had been the rebellion in Lower Canada that it was but subsidizing the very aggressors in the troubles. At length, most unwillingly, a sum of nearly £10,000, to be met by a special fund, was granted, and this was not one twenty-fifth of the claim. Into this scene of turmoil came as governor one of the greatest administrators Canada has seen, James, Earl of Elgin, married to a daughter of Lord Durham, and of the same political school as his Lordship.

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* From plate in Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle's *Newfoundland in 1842* (London, 1842). He was successively governor of New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia.

JOSEPH HOWE.*

Lord Elgin was possessed with the desire to work out the great scheme proposed by his father-in-law. Completely reversing the policy followed by Lord Metcalfe, the new governor won golden opinions as a constitutional ruler, and by his affable manner recommended himself to the people. The principle of responsible government being now fully conceded, the Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry was formed, and this carried out justly the settlement of the rebellion losses in Lower Canada. This gave great offence to the loyalists of Upper Canada, whose rallying cry became, "No pay to rebels!" Great excitement prevailed in Montreal, at which place the assembly was then meeting. The oppositionists, with strange inconsistency, failing in every other expedient, signed a manifesto in favor of annexation to the United States. The ministry, strongly intrenched in the right, as they believed, carried the "Losses Bill." Then ensued a scene of wild disorder. Lord Elgin's carriage was beset by ruffians as he was returning from assenting to the bill. That evening the parliament-house was sacked, the speaker's chair was occupied by one of the rabble, and in the end the public buildings were burned to the ground. Montreal has never since been the meeting place of parliament. The French-Canadians were now revenged, for the ruffians concerned in the attack were not the "new" but the "old" subjects.

A serious land question next agitated the parliament of United Canada. The settlement of Lower Canada had taken place on the basis of a modified feudal system. A noblesse descended from the old French nobility, or in a few cases ennobled in Canada, owned the land, which was divided into seigniories. For this the "habitants," or petty farmers, paid certain dues. A system so restrictive and burdensome seems inconsistent with the genius of the new world. Accordingly it became a serious public question how the "censitaires," as the farmers were called, might be relieved. The

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* After a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *British Americans*, vol. i. His father was a New England loyalist, who became Postmaster General of the Lower Provinces, dying in 1835, the son having been born in Nova Scotia in 1804.

Hincks ministry, which had proved itself unable to cope with the Clergy Reserve question,. failed here also. Many in Upper Canada maintained that it was purely a question with which Lower Canada must deal, but the reply was made that the two provinces were now one, for "better and for worse." The loyalist coalition ministry, led by MacNab and Morin, with rare boldness grappled with the question, and by a payment of two and a half millions of dollars relieved the struggling "habitants," and honorably compensated the seigniors. It was certain to rouse animosities among the English of Upper Canada to have so large a sum spent upon Lower Canada. Now began the cry of French domination, and the politicians urged that such large expenditures for Lower Canada could only arise from undue French influence in the cabinet and in the assembly.

The din of political strife was interrupted by great rejoicings on the part of Canada over the Reciprocity Treaty negotiated at Washington by Lord Elgin and his able minister, Mr. Francis Hincks. This removed restrictions in trade between the two neighboring countries so far as unmanufactured products of the "soil, the forest, the mine, and the sea" were concerned. Not only was the wealth of the two countries thus increased, but the difficult question of the fisheries was, for the eleven years during which the treaty stood, solved.

The fisheries dispute between the United States and the British provinces had begun so early as the treaty of 1783, at which time the New England colonies seem to have claimed the right to fish along the coast given by that treaty to Britain. In the convention of London in 1818, following the Treaty of Ghent, the British commissioners gained the point that no American fisherman should fish within three miles of the British coast, there being a dispute, however, as to the bays along the shore.[1] The Treaty of Reciprocity gave to the two nations free use of all watercourses, canals, and fisheries belonging to both. The lapsing of the treaty in 1865, however, opened all the old questions again, and led to a new line of policy on the part of Canada. The Reciprocity Treaty has always been held by Canada to reflect great honor on Lord Elgin.

About this time came into prominence in Canada the son of a Scottish journalist, who had come to Canada in 1843. This was George Brown, a man of stalwart proportions, immense energy, and great logical and vituperative power as a public speaker. When the union of 1841 had taken place Lower Canada had a preponderance of population, but the representation in the house was only equal to that of Upper Canada. As years rolled on, Upper Canada became the more populous. The politicians, who raised the cry of undue French influence, maintained that this should be met by giving Upper Canada increased representation, and the strong agitation grew up in favor of what was called "representation by population." The Lower Canadians contended that when the union was formed they had not representation based on numbers, and that the case was similar with Upper

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[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. VII.

Canada now. The defence of their rights brought to the front, as a leader of the French, an ardent and successful lawyer, George Etienne Cartier, who claimed descent from the famous discoverer of Canada. The struggle became exceedingly bitter. Mr. Brown fulminated against the French in the well-known journal, his own creation, the *Toronto Globe.* Upper Canada, by a double majority in the house, demanded increased representation ; Lower Canada stood upon the constitution. The French feeling, which had lingered even from the conquest, was fanned into a flame ; it was a national enthusiasm to preserve existence ; "les lois, la langue, et les institutions" were in danger, and Cartier led a solid phalanx of his race, albeit, in a furore of patriotism, he declared himself to be "an Englishman speaking French." In 1862 Cartier's government was defeated ostensibly on a Militia Bill, but it was the burning question of representation which brought his fall. The compact French party made any stable government impossible. One government after another was defeated, and the parties came back from the country almost equally balanced. A dead lock had come. At this juncture an act of patriotism, rarely exceeded, was seen. The leaders of the opposing political parties — Mr. Brown on the one hand, and Messrs. John A. Macdonald and Cartier on the other — came to an understanding to deliver the country by a combination ministry. This was in 1864, and the country was electrified by the news, and generally overjoyed. The policy of the coalition ministry was to bring in a measure to introduce the union principle into Canada, coupled with such provision as would admit the maritime provinces and the Northwest into the union. It was the grand conception of a British North America, "to be connected under a general legislature, based upon the federal principle."

STATUE OF GEORGE BROWN, AT TORONTO.*

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* From a photograph. There is also a likeness in F. Taylor's *British Americans* (vol. i.).

During these years of agitation the attention of all parties was twice diverted by threatenings of international complication with the United States. The breaking out of the Civil War in the United States in 1861 drew upon the sympathies of the Canadian people. The majority of Canadians were opposed to the Southern Confederacy on account of its institution of slavery, and large numbers of Canadians joined the Northern army. An act of invasion of the British steamer "Trent" on the high seas by the United States steamer "San Jacinto," and the capture from it of two Southern gentlemen, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, roused the British people, and caused great excitement in Canada. The angry discussion which ensued seemed to forebode war, and thousands in Canada who had never seen a company drilled were enrolled, prepared for the worst. The horrors of war were happily averted through the efforts of diplomacy.

The conclusion of the American Civil War had its perils both for the United States and for Canada. The enforced idleness of many thousands of discharged soldiers caused much anxiety. Many of them were Irishmen, and in their dislike of Britain and lack of occupation there were organized what were called "Fenian Associations" for the relief of Ireland. Canada was again and again threatened by bands of these desperadoes. In June, 1866, some hundreds of them effected a landing on the Niagara peninsula, and, after several skirmishes, returned to Buffalo, where the forces of the United States arrested them. Attacks were also made at various other points.

STATUE OF SIR GEORGE CARTIER, AT TORONTO.*

Returning to an account of the political difficulties of Canada, it may be stated that not only Upper and Lower Canada, but the maritime provinces also, impressed by the fact of their like environment as provinces, sought union with one another, and the latter met to consider the question at Charlottetown, the capital of Prince Edward Island. The Canadian coalition ministry now suggested the feasibility of sending representatives to this meeting in the lower provinces, and also commissioners to England to obtain the imperial assistance. Accordingly eight delegates from Canada sailed down the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and sought admission to the con-

* From a photograph kindly furnished by George Mercer Adam, Esq., of Toronto. Cf. portrait in B. Sulte's *Hist. des Canadiens-Françaises.*

ference of the representatives of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The meeting was hopeful, and it was decided to hold a future conference; and this took place in Quebec in October, 1864. This was a remarkable gathering. "They came together for friendly conference on the historic ground of old Quebec, where French Catholic and French Huguenot, Champlain's colonists and Kirke's invaders, Frontenac's regiments of old France and New England militia, Montcalm's veterans and Wolfe's troops and Highlanders, Carleton's medley and Montgomery's borderers, had met in conflict." It was, moreover, remarkable as a great constitution-forming gathering. Less than a hundred years before, a conference of British colonies had met in congress in New York, but then under the imperial frown; now the consulting provinces are assembled under the smile of the mother country. Thirty years before, in this very city, the anti-British French-Canadians had passed, amid great excitement, ninety-eight resolutions of a hostile nature; here, with their British compatriots, they are now agreeing to a confederation of the northern American colonies under the British flag. The conference ended with an agreement in the form of seventy-two resolutions, to be submitted to the various legislatures. After much discussion and the passage of the agreement by Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, though in the last-named seemingly without due consideration so far as the people were concerned, an imperial measure was carried called "The British North America Act," and the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia entered upon their new life as a confederation on July 1, 1867, to be joined by Manitoba in three years, by British Columbia in the year following, and by Prince Edward Island in three years more. Thus the seven sister provinces are united together, and the Dominion of Canada has just passed the year of its majority.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE important period from the conquest of Canada in 1763 to the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791 is somewhat lacking in original documents of value, arising, especially in its earlier years, from the unsettled and unhappy state of the country. The period has been spoken of in French Canada as "Le temps de malaise et de confusion." The Abbé Verreau in 1870 edited a number of valuable official documents under the auspices of the Société Historique of Montreal, these having been collected by the Hon. Jacques Viger. To Baron Masères, for three years the legal adviser of Sir Guy Carleton, must be assigned the credit of giving the views of the British residents of Quebec, and of gathering valuable information. *An account of the proceedings of the inhabitants of Quebec*, published in 1775; *Additional papers*, in 1776; three most interesting volumes of the periodical known as *The Canadian Freeholder;* besides a *Collection of Commissions*, etc., in 1771; a *Review of the government and grievances of the province of Quebec since the conquest*, published in 1788; and *Occasional Essays*, in 1809, — all bear testimony to the industry of the clear-headed adviser of the ruler of the province of Quebec.[1] An interesting document, published in 1774, is the letter from the Congress of the United States *To the inhabitants of the province of Quebec.*[1] A very useful work, showing the conflicting views of the different party elements interested in the passage of the "Quebec Bill" in 1774, is found in the *Debate on the Quebec Act, published by J. Wright, from notes of Sir Henry Cavendish, Bart.* (London, 1739).[2] *Justice and policy by the late act assisted and proved,* by W. Knox (1774), is a view of the loyalist position.[3] *A letter to Lord Chatham on the Quebec Bill* (1774)[4] was much sought for in its time, and was no doubt properly attributed to Sir William Meredith. The invasion of Canada by Montgomery and Arnold in 1775–76, coming in this period, has been fully treated elsewhere.[5]

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[1] [Cf. *ante*, VI. p. 104. — ED.]

The most remarkable service done to the history of this period, as well as to that of several years following, has been accomplished by the Canadian Archives Department, Ottawa, whose collection, begun in 1872, under the indefatigable management of Mr. Douglas Brymner, has grown with marvellous rapidity in the few years of its existence.[6] Among the most valuable documents are one hundred and sixty-four volumes of the *Haldimand papers.* The original documents were presented to the British Museum in 1857 by Mr. W. Haldimand, nephew of General Haldimand, the governor of Canada from 1778 to 1786, and exact copies have been made for the Ottawa Archives.[7] In late years much service has been rendered to the public by the calendar or contents published in successive numbers of the Archives Department, 1883–89, and still continuing. Materials are here found for reconstructing opinions as to the "Du Calvet affair." Cf., for instance, Brymner's *Report,* 1888, Introd., on the Jesuit priest Roubaud, and the work and influence of General Haldimand. Du Calvet, who has succeeded in giving to history his version of his quarrel with General Haldimand, writes it in a *Recueil de lettres au roi,* etc.[8] An enormous collection of military correspondence, contained in hundreds of volumes, including the Seven Years' War and War of the Revolution, is to be found in the Archives, having been removed thither from the chief British military station in America, Halifax, N. S. The printed reports of the archivist are also giving the contents of these.

No one should attempt to pronounce on the Canadian history of this period without studying the Constitutional Act of 1791, for it shows the effect of the American Revolution upon the imperial lawmakers.[9]

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[1] [Cf. *ante,* VI. p. 104. — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. *ante,* VI. p. 102. — Ed.]

[3] [Cf. *ante,* VI. p. 104. — Ed.]

[4] [Cf. *ante,* VI. p. 102. — Ed.]

[5] [Cf. *ante,* VI. pp. 215–229; Brymner's *Report on the Archives,* 1888, p. xii. — Ed.]

[6] [The history of this development can be traced in Brymner's *Reports.* Cf. also Kingsford's *Canadian Archæology,* p. 33. — Ed.]

[7] [Cf. *post,* Appendix. — Ed.]

[8] [Cf. the *Case of Peter Du Calvet, containing an acc. of the long and severe imprisonment he suffered by order of Gen. Haldimand* (London, 1784). — Ed.]

[9] [Mr. John George Bourinot, clerk of the House of Commons at Ottawa, in outlining to its Speaker the project of a work to be called *The Federal and Provincial Constitutions, Colonial Charters, Organic Laws, Imperial Despatches and other Documents, illustrative of the Constitutional History of Canada, from 1540 to 1888,* points out the following pivotal documents as coming within the period now under consideration : —

Commission and royal instructions to Sir John (General) Murray, 1763.

An act for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, 1774.

An act to establish a fund towards further defraying the charges of the administration of justice and support of the civil government within the province of Quebec, 1791.

Constitutional Act, 1791.

Proclamations in Upper and Lower Canada, bringing the act into force.

Commission of Lord Gosford, 1835.

Imperial act suspending the constitution and making temporary provision for the government of Lower Canada, proclaimed March 29, 1838.

Instructions to Lord Durham for the constitution of a special council.

Lord Durham's proclamation dissolving the special council.

Lord Durham's letter to the members of the executive council, dispensing with their attendance.

An act to reunite the provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and for the government of Canada, 1840.

Proclamation declaring the provinces united, 1841.

In Lower Canada, during the last forty years, has grown up a school of French-Canadian historians, whose polished style and national spirit have made their work of much value. As was to have been expected, their sympathies have been drawn out toward the earlier period of Canadian history, though they have also given us detailed histories down to the date of their writing.[1] We propose, on account of their forming a distinctive school of Canadian historians, to give their works a complete notice here, though they deal specially with this earlier time. Of foremost rank in this band, if not among all Canadian historians, is François Xavier Garneau, who, in three volumes, writes *L'Histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1852). Though fairly treating his subject, he aroused the susceptibilities of some of the clerical opponents, and his book was later in some points modified. The work has reached its fourth edition (Montreal, 1882). It is a well-written, accurate, and judicious history.[2] A compact French history from the conquest to 1818 is that of Bibaud the younger, *Les institutions de l'histoire du Canada* (1855). Of Michael Bibaud's (d. 1857) *Hist. du Canada sous la domination anglaise* mention has been already made (*ante*, IV. p. 367). The wrath of the Church in Quebec was visited upon the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, when there appeared his *Histoire du Canada, de son église et de ses missions* (1852). It was an ill-digested and incorrect view of Canadian affairs, given by a visitor from France. The learned Abbé J. B. A. Ferland wrote his excellent and fair *Cours d'Histoire du Canada* largely to correct the French abbé's errors.[3] The latter part of this work was, however, finished by Abbé Laverdière on the death of Ferland. A work now somewhat past its meridian is the *Histoire de Cinquante Ans* of M. Bedard (Quebec, 1869), covering the fifty years from 1791. In 1882–84 appeared a voluminous *Histoire des Canadiens Françaises* (1608–1880), by Benjamin Sulte (Montreal), 8 vols.; while a French-Canadian littérateur, Louis P. Turcotte, had a few years before given to the world an octavo volume, 616 pages, *Le Canada sous l'Union, 1841–1867* (Quebec, 1871), and two years later his *Biographies politiques*. A distinguished literary man, whose polished and genial manner and wide sympathies make him one of the attractions of

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Return to an address from the House of Assembly to the governor-general, August 5, 1841, on the despatch of Lord John Russell to the governor-general on responsible government, October 14, 1839.

Her Majesty's instructions to Lord Sydenham on his assumption of the government, Sept. 7, 1839.

An act for enabling colonial legislatures to establish inland posts.

Imperial act respecting coasting trade of the British possessions.

Despatches relative to removal of restrictions on Canadian commerce.

Imperial act relative to the use of the English language in legislative instruments, August 14, 1848.

Imperial act to empower the legislature of Canada to alter the constitution of the legislative council, etc., Aug. 11, 1854.

British North America Act, 1867.

Proclamation uniting the provinces into one dominion.

Mr. Bourinot has already sketched the progress of constitutional principles in Canada in his *Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada from the earliest period to the year 1888. Including the British North America act, 1867, and a digest of judicial decisions on questions of legislative jurisdiction* (Montreal, 1888). This useful little book is based on the author's larger treatise on *Parliamentary Practice and Procedure*. Cf. Goldwin Smith on the Political History of Canada in *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1886; E. Hulot on "The French Canadians and the development of parliamentary liberty in Canada, 1763–1867," in the *Annales de l'Ecole des Sciences Politiques*, July, 1887; and Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *Speeches and Addresses, chiefly on the Subject of the British American Union* (London, 1865).

Mr. Bourinot has also printed in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies, 5th series, nos. 56*, a monograph on *Local government in Canada* (Baltimore, 1887), in which he thus divides his subject: —

Contents. — Introduction; The French régime, 1608–1760; Lower Canada, 1760–1840; Upper Canada, 1792–1840; The maritime provinces; The establishment of municipal institutions in provinces of the Dominion. — Ed.]

[1] [Four of them, Bibaud, Garneau, Ferland, and Faillon, are passed in review by J. M. Lemoine in "Nos quatre historiens modernes," in the *Roy. Soc. of Canada, Trans.*, vol. i. — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. *ante*, IV. 359; and a paper by Casgrain in *Roy. Soc. Canada, Trans.*, i. 85. — Ed.]

[3] [Cf. also Ferland's *Observations sur un ouvrage intitulé Hist. du Canada* (Quebec, 1853; also Paris). — Ed.]

Quebec city, is Mr. J. M. Lemoine, an English-speaking French-Canadian. Many choice historical sketches are found in his *Maple Leaves* (1863); *Monographies et esquisses; Monographies de nos modernes historiens; Picturesque Quebec* (1882); and in many lesser monographs on the old Quebec gates, fortifications, and environs. In 1855, at Montreal, J. G. Barthe published *Souvenirs d'un Demi-Siècle*, and a brochure embodying the hope of his race in gaining by political means what they had lost by war at the conquest, *Canada reconquis par la France*, (also Paris, 1855.)[1]

Les servantes de Dieu en Canada, by C. de Laroche-Heron, is an eulogy of the distinguished women who have served the Church in Lower Canada; while a work on the French-Canadian people, *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens françaises de la découverte jusqu'a nos jours* (Paris, 1884), by the Protestant Frenchman Eugène Réveillaud, who visited Canada a few years ago, is severely criticised by the Lower Canadians.[2]

If the songs of a people are elements of their history, the *Chansons populaires du Canada*, by Ernest Gagnon (Quebec, 1865), 8vo, 370 pp., is worthy of examination, the more that it was found a few years since that old French ditties, which had entirely disappeared in Normandy, were still sung in Canada.[3] Sir Hector Langevin in his earlier days wrote a prize essay on Canada which is favorably viewed.

Two works remain to be spoken of in closing our sketch of Lower Canadian histories, and both of these written in English. One of these is *History of Lower Canada*, by Robert Christie (Quebec, 1848), 6 vols. While not written in a pleasant style, this is the most complete history of Lower Canada up to 1848. Its writer was a member of the assembly for Gaspé, and was a most industrious and successful collector of facts. His differences with his French-Canadian fellow-members do not seem to have disturbed his judicial frame of mind as a historian. Christie's work extends from 1791 (with a sketch from 1759) to 1841.[4] The other writer, who may be called a British Frenchman, is Joseph Bouchette, the author of *The British Dominions in North America* (London, 1832), 3 vols. These volumes are a vast collection of the historical, geographical, topographical, and statistical data of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, as well as of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.[5] The position of surveyor-general of Lower Canada filled by Bouchette makes his work of considerable value. The part taken by Lower Canada in the peopling of the interior of Canada and Rupert's Land, as also of the Western States, is well shown in two volumes published in Montreal (1878), by Joseph Tassé, entitled *Les Canadiens de l'Ouest*. They are of much interest, and very full of national pride.[6]

Elsewhere (Vol. VII. 185–214) the authorities have been given on the removal of the loyalists from the United States; it remains for us to point out the materials for their history after their arrival in the British provinces. The main source of loyalist information is the Haldimand collection in the Archives at Ottawa. It awaits the labor of a painstaking historian to reproduce the life of the loyalist settlements. A useful book, but not very valuable on account of its being chiefly gathered together from tradition and hearsay, and not from documents, is the *Settlement of Upper Canada* (1872), by William Canniff. Of United Empire loyalist descent himself, Dr. Canniff deserves credit for his industry, though the work is fragmentary and might have been better arranged.[1] *The Loyalists in America*, by Dr. Egerton Ryerson (Toronto, 1880), 2 vols., deals with the growth of loyalism in the New England and Cavalier colonies, and adds little of local interest to what Canniff has given. The late J. C. Dent, in his *Canadian portrait gallery* (Toronto, 1880), 4 vols., in sketches of Lord Dorchester, Haldimand, Simcoe, and others, has given many details of the loyalist period. The Mohawk chieftain Brant and his Six Nations Indians were to all intents and purposes United Empire loyalists, coming to Canada as they did after the loss of their lands near the Johnson estates in New York, and companions of their neighbors from that locality. Accordingly, in Brant's life by W. L. Stone (New York, 1838), 2 vols.,[2] and in the pamphlet by Ke-che-ah-gaw-me-qua, there is much of interest belonging to this time. Dr. Henry Scadding, the archæologist, of Toronto, has, in his interesting history of *Toronto of Old* (1873), told the story of many of the early loyalist families and their influence on Upper Canada. In the Ottawa parliamentary library is a manuscript of three or four hundred quarto pages, giving Colonel Clarke's recollections and reminiscences, and it is held in high esteem for its account of the fathers of Upper Canada. The *Travels in North America, 1795-96-97*, by Isaac Weld (London, 1800, 1807), in 2 vols., contains a picture of the country of the loyalists in their first generation; and *Travels through the Canadas* by George Heriot (London, 1807) is worth examination.[3] The *Travels to the interior inhabited parts of North America in ten years*, by P. Campbell, in 1791-92 (Edinburgh, 1793), has an account of the author's contact with many of the United Empire leaders, and he speaks of their condition. Also, see *Travels of Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt*, 2 volumes, 1799. The memorials of the United Empire loyalists have been greatly neglected in Nova Scotia[4] and New Brunswick, much

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[1] [E. G. Scott in a striking paper on "La Nouvelle France" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept., 1889, tracks the development of the Gallic spirit in Canada in its progress towards an apparently inevitable domination. — ED.]

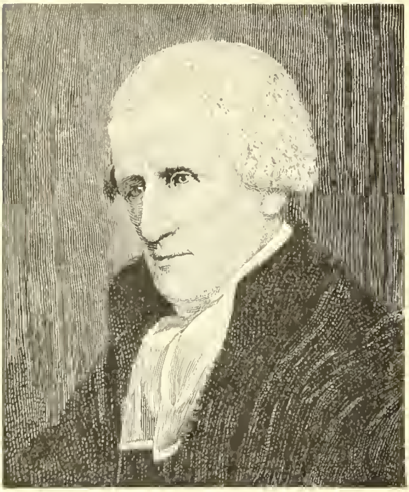
[2] [Eugène Réveillaud's "Langue et littérature Françaises au Canada" in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* (August, 1883), was reprinted in the App. of his *Hist. du Canada*. Cf. Prosper Bender's *Old and New Canada, 1753–1844. Historic scenes and social pictures, or, The life of Joseph François Perrault* (Montreal, 1882), and John Lesperance's Analytical Study of Canadian History, in the *Roy. Soc. Canada, Proc.*, vol. v. — ED.]

[3] [There is a later ed. of Gagnon, Quebec, 1880. — ED.]

[4] [Later ed., *Hist. of the late Province of Lower Canada* (Montreal, 1866). Cf. also his *Memoirs of the Administration of the Colonial Government of Lower Canada, by Craig and Prevost, 1807–15* (Quebec, 1818), and John Fleming's *British Settlers' Polit. Annals of Lower Canada* (Montreal, 1828). — ED.]

[5] [Cf. *ante*, VII. pp. 172, 177. — ED.]

[6] [These and other works on Canadian history are also characterized elsewhere. Cf. *ante*. Vol. IV. pp. 157, 367–368. These books are also passed in review in good part in J. C. Dent's *Last Forty Years of Canada* (1881), and in *Canadiana* (1889), an historical periodical begun in Montreal, under the editing of W. J. White, in 1889. — ED.]


JONATHAN SEWELL.*

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[1] [An early *Sketch of his Majesty's Province of Upper Canada* (London, 1805), by D'Arcy Boulton, is of little importance, and so is D. M'Leod, *Brief Review of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the U. E. Loyalists and Scotch Highlanders in 1783; and of the Grievances of 1837-38, together with a Sketch of the Campaigns of 1812, 1813, and 1814* (Cleveland, 1841).— ED.]

[2] [There are later editions. See Vol. VI., Index. — ED.]

[3] [Cf. Hugh Gray's *Letters from Canada, 1806-1808* (London, 1809).— ED.]

[4] [For local traits of the Nova Scotia loyalists, see G. S. Brown's *Hist. of Yarmouth* (Boston, 1888); T. Watson Smith respecting those at Shelburne, in the *Nov. Scot. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 53, and references, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 214. — ED.]

* [Following a photograph in Fannings Taylor's *Portraits of British Americans* (Montreal, 1867), vol. ii. His father was Jonathan Sewall, a royalist in Massachusetts, the last attorney-general of that province, who at the outbreak of the Revolution fled to England, where visiting the tombs of his ancestors he found the name spelled with an *e* and adopted the form Sewell. His son, whose likeness is here given, was born in Cambridge, Mass., June 6, 1766. Educated in England, he came to New Brunswick in 1785, and was established as a lawyer in Quebec in 1789, and in time reached the elevation (1808) of chief justice of Lower Canada. As early as 1814 he advocated a plan of forming a federal union of the British provinces in North America. He died Nov. 12, 1839. — ED.]

to the disgrace of their descendants. In 1883, by a centennial celebration, the children of the loyalists and others of St. John, New Brunswick, sought to atone for this long want of recollection, and the addresses made are published in a *Loyalists' Centennial Souvenir* (St. John, N. B., 1887). In the same year General J. W. De Peyster prepared an address on the fathers for the Historical Society of New Brunswick, which was published in New York (1883).[1]

The materials for the history of the period in Upper Canada from 1791 to 1804 have hitherto been very scant. The first years of the life of new states or provinces are apt to be unchronicled. Last year (1888) a discovery was made which will enable historians to reproduce this lost period. Along with Governor Simcoe in 1791 came to organize the new province of Upper Canada the Hon. Col. D. W. Smith of the Fifth Regiment, surveyor-general of Canada. Stationed chiefly at Niagara, the capital, Col. Smith was not only the central figure of the settlement, but maintained an extensive correspondence with distinguished persons both in Britain and America. What was perhaps more fortunate still, he treasured up every plan and survey, as well as the letters he received. Col. Smith returned to Britain, and though his children have been communicated with by those who knew the colonel's habit of preserving documents, no information could be obtained. It turned out, however, that Col. Smith's widow had married again, and this second family had inherited under another name the surveyor-general's collections. Last year a London dealer came into possession of the documents, and sent word to Canada. On the same day three cablegrams went to London: one from Mr. Brymner of the Archives Department, Ottawa; another from Premier Mowat of Toronto; and a third from Librarian Bain of the Toronto Public Library. Mr. Bain, who is one of the chief authorities on "Canadiana," was fortunate in reaching the dealer first, and for £32 obtained this invaluable series of documents. They consist of twenty-four large volumes of many thousand pages. The original documents cover all the details of government and social life in the province for twelve years, and comprise disbursements and receipts of moneys, land claims, memorials, petitions, accounts, land sales and grants, with beautifully executed plans of the towns laid out, and of Col. Smith's estates, which amounted to twenty thousand acres, and were scattered over twenty-one different townships of Upper Canada. The autograph correspondence is extensive, and in volume after volume. Among his correspondents are Earl Percy, the Duke of Northumberland, Duke of Rutland, Duke of Portland, Count de Puisaye, General Simcoe, Governors Russell and Hunter, Chief Justice Osgoode, the Bishop of Quebec, and scores of other distinguished persons, and on all imaginable subjects.

In the maritime provinces the history of the early settlement has been given by a number of writers. The *Nova Scotia Archives*, edited by Dr. T. B. Akins, commissioner of public records (Halifax, 1869), though excellent, only cover the time 1714–55, not thus reaching our period, a thing to be regretted; also five volumes of the *Proceedings* of the Nova Scotian Historical Society are chiefly taken up with the earlier period; while the well-written *History of Acadia*, by James Hannay, only reaches the Treaty of Paris. Dr. George Patterson, who has written a number of excellent sketches of church and missionary enterprise, including the memoir of Rev. James McGregor, D. D. (Philadelphia, 1859), the Nova Scotian pioneer, published at Montreal (1877) his valuable *History of Pictou*. Beamish Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1865–67), three vols., is to be spoken of rather as annals than history, and does not come later down than 1828; while the North British Society of Halifax has also published *Annals, 1768–1868*. Murdoch's collection has been made with pains, and awaits the polished writer to weave the facts into

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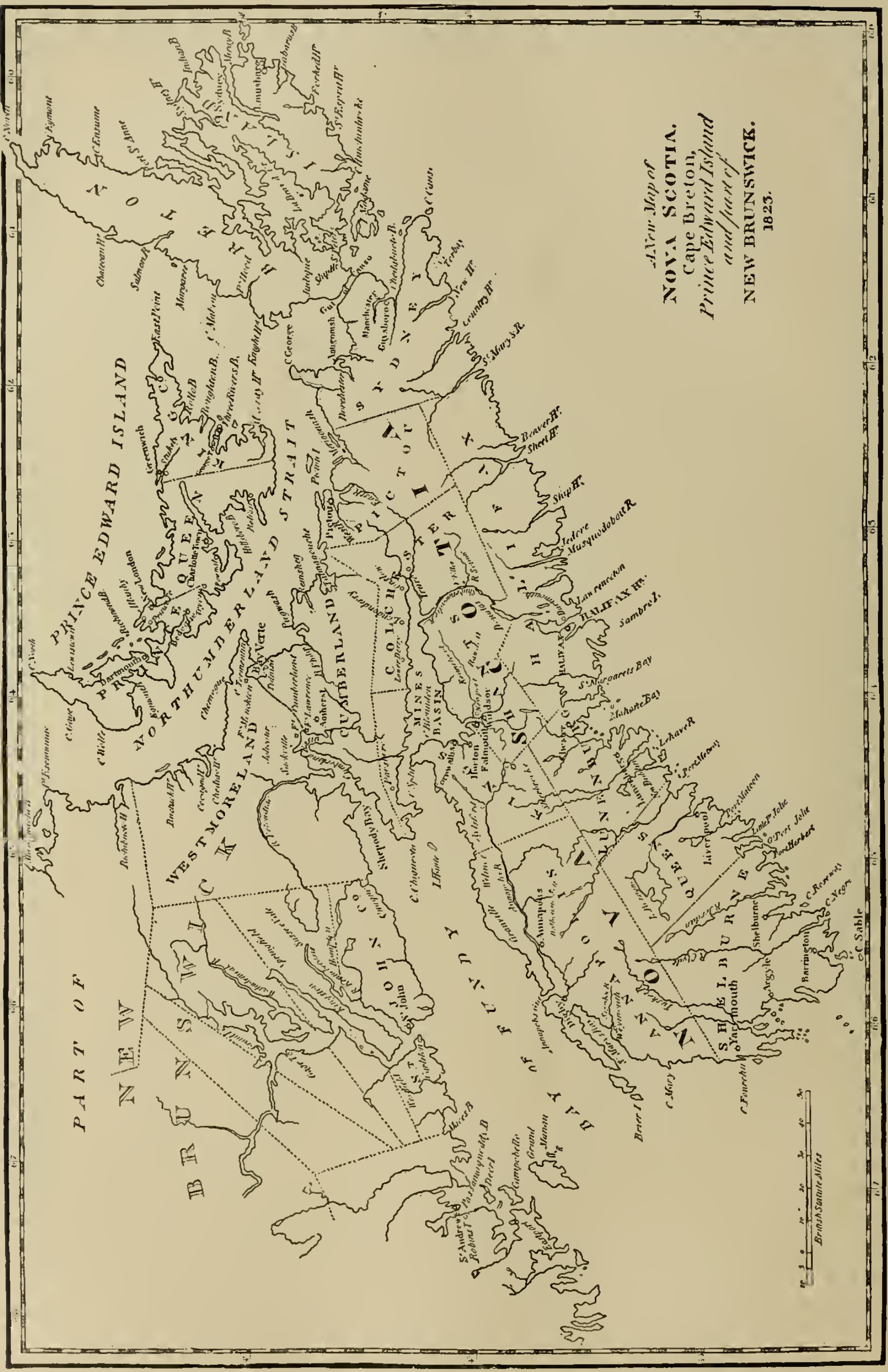
[1] [For other notes on the New Brunswick loyalists, see *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 213, as well as for those in Canada in general. Cf. J. W. Lawrence's *Foot-prints, or incidents in the early hist. of New Brunswick, 1783–1883* (St. John, 1883), and a paper on the Pioneers in the *St. James Mag.* xxix. 575. — Ed.]



NOTE. — The above map is reproduced from *A General Description of Nova Scotia illustrated by a new and correct map* (Halifax, 1823). The book is thought to have been prepared by Judge T. C. Haliburton.

a finished web. A common-sense *History of Nova Scotia*, in its mercantile and commercial relations, is that of Duncan Campbell (Montreal, 1873).[1]

The resources of the neighboring province of New Brunswick were described by Thomas Baillie in *Account of New Brunswick* (London, 1832), and by Abraham Gesner, surgeon (1849), following his immigration work of 1847. New Brunswick history and statistics have been treated by Rev. C. Atkinson in his *Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick* (Edinburgh, 1844), and in a *Compendium Hist. of New Brunswick* (Halifax, 1832), written by Rev. Robert Cooney. See also Martin's *History of New Brunswick* (1844).[2]

The history of Prince Edward Island has been written by Duncan Campbell (Charlottetown, 1875), while *An account of Prince Edward, &c.*, by John Stewart (London, 1806), treats the topography, statistics, and history of the island. In 1805 the Earl of Selkirk had published in London his work *On Emigration and the State of the Highlands*, in which there is a description of his Highland settlement in Queen's County, P. E. I.

HALIFAX.*

Newfoundland as it was and as it is in 1877 was published by the Rev. Philip Tocque (Toronto, 1878). Reeves' *History of the Government of Newfoundland* appeared in 1793. Anspach's *History of Newfoundland* (1819) is mentioned, as also Pedley's (1863). In 1883 the veteran authority on Newfoundland, Rev. Moses Harvey, published in company with another writer, *Newfoundland, the oldest British Colony;* while two years after Judge Pinsent wrote a paper, "Newfoundland our oldest colony," which appeared in vol. xvi. of the *Royal Colonial Institute Proceedings*.

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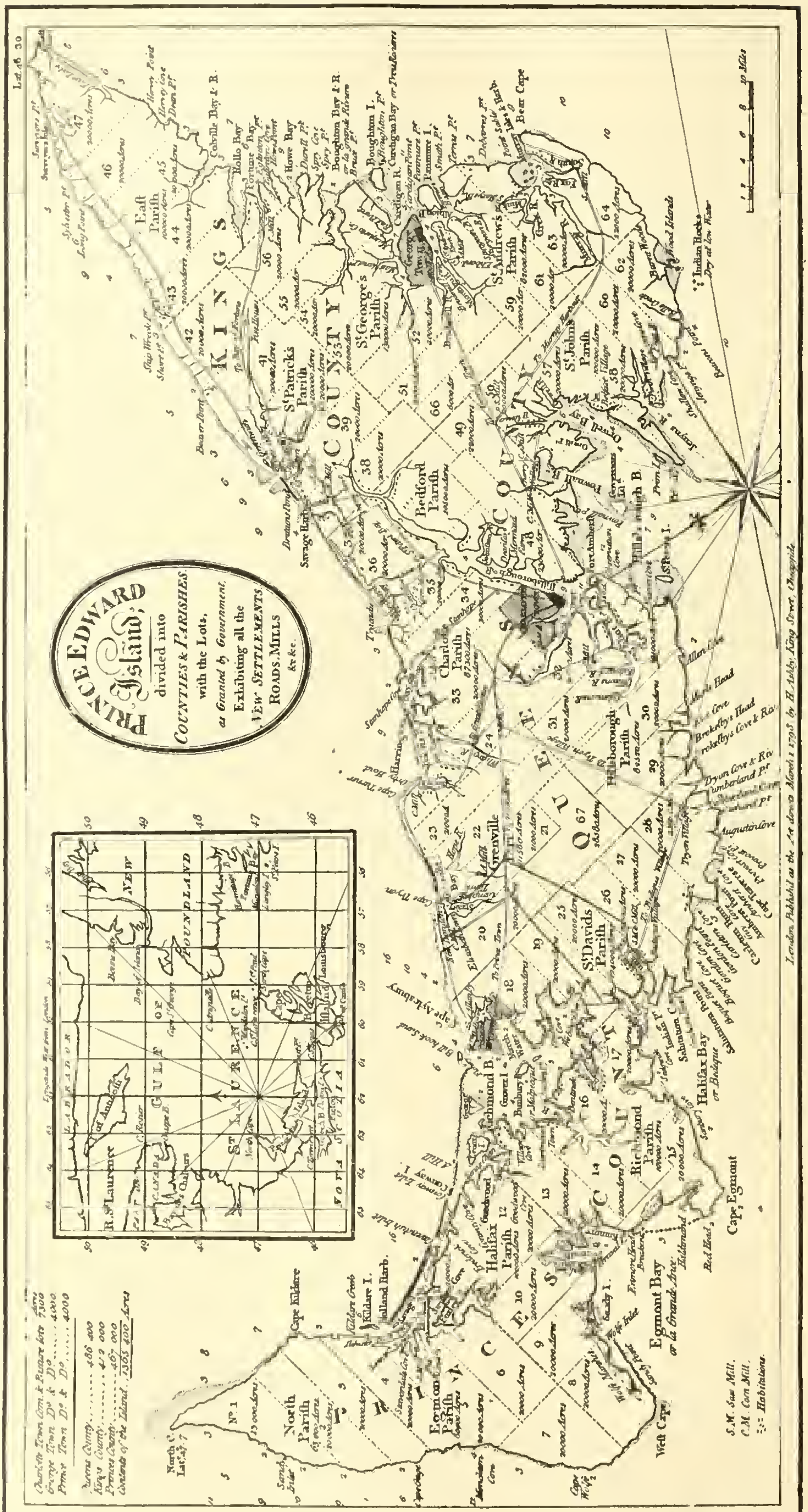
[1] [Cf. *ante*, V. p. 419. The condition of the province immediately after the Peace of Paris is gathered from an account prepared by order of Jonathan Belcher, Jr., the lieutenant-governor. The Shelburne Papers, vol. xlviii., show a copy of it as given in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, v. 217. S. Hollingsworth's *Present State of Nova Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1786; 2d ed., 1787) points to the conditions just after the close of the American war. An early *Hist. of Nova Scotia*, by R. M. Martin (London, 1837), is of little moment. For later aspects, see Capt. W. Moorsom's *Letters from Nova Scotia, sketches of a young country* (London, 1830). — ED.]

[2] [Local politics make the staple of G. E. Fenety's *Political notes and observations; or, A glance at the leading measures that have been introduced and discussed in the house of assembly of New Brunswick, extending over a period of twenty-five years* (Fredericton, 1867). — ED.]

* [From R. M. Martin's *History of Nova Scotia* (London, 1837). — ED.]


PRINCE EDWARD Island; divided into COUNTIES & PARISHES with the Lots, as Granted by Government, Exhibiting all the NEW SETTLEMENTS, ROADS, MILLS &c. &c.
London, Published as the Act directs March 1 1798 by H. Ashby, King Street, Cheapside
Charlotte Town Com. & Pasture lots 7300 Acres
George Town Dº & Dº 4000
Prince Town Dº & Dº 4000
Queens County 486 200
Kings County 412 000
Princes County 467 000
Contents of the Island 1365 400 Acres
S.M. Saw Mill.
C.M. Corn Mill.
Habitations.
KINGS COUNTY
QUEENS COUNTY
PRINCE COUNTY
East Parish
St Patrick's Parish
St George's Parish
St Andrew's Parish
St John's Parish
Bedford Parish
Charlotte Parish
Hillsborough Parish
Grenville Parish
St Davids Parish
Richmond Parish
Halifax Parish
Egmont Parish
North Parish
Hillsborough R.
Cape Kildare
North C.
West Cape
Cape Egmont
Egmont Bay
Halifax Bay or Bedeque
Richmond B.
Bear Cape
East Pt
LABRADOR
GULF OF ST LAURENCE
NEW FOUNDLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
R. St Laurence
Louisbourg
10 Miles

Upon the history of New Brunswick and the other maritime provinces, Dr. Harper, in 1876, issued a work at St. John, N. B. The writer of special note in connection with literature and history in the lower provinces is Thomas Chandler Haliburton, a judge of Nova Scotia, who was born in Windsor, N. S., 1769, and died in England in 1865, and whose writings under the pseudonym of "Sam Slick" have given amusement and much shrewd wisdom to thousands. Haliburton wrote an *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1829), two vols. The historical portion of the work only reaches to the time of the Treaty of Paris; but a great part of the first volume and all of the second is statistical. In his literary works, *The Clockmaker* (Sam Slick), three series; the *Attaché* (two vols.); *Letter-bag of the Great Western*, and *The old Judge* (two vols.), Haliburton has drawn many graphic pictures of colonial life, infinitely more valuable as showing the social condition of the Lower Provinces than his history. A brochure by F. B. Crofton has just been published (Halifax, N. S., 1889), entitled *Haliburton, the Man and the Writer.*

The literature on the war of 1812 is very considerable, and in Vol. VII. pp. 420–437, the bibliography has been largely given. Of Canadian writers, Gilbert Auchinleck first wrote his *History of the War* in Maclear's *Anglo-American Magazine.*[1] Col. Coffin's *Chronicle of 1812*,[2] though not arranged with literary grace, is an earnest and honest view of the British side of the war. The *Life and Correspondence of Sir Isaac Brock* (London, 1847), by C. F. Tupper, is of first importance.[3] Major Richardson, who took part in the war of 1812, and afterwards became a bishop of the Methodist Church in Canada, states his views (Brockville, 1842) with a thorough admixture of loyalist feeling.[4] Historical documents relating to the war of 1812 were published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec in 1877; and the same society issued in 1879 the paper by Mr. J. Stevenson on the *Cause and Commencement of the War of 1812.*

As in many other instances, the war called attention to Canada, and on peace being established the settlers flowed in from all quarters. Various books of travel now become of use: Lt. Francis Hall's *Travels in Canada and the United States, 1816, 1817* (London and Boston, 1818, 1819). James Strachan's *Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819* (Aberdeen, 1820). Two volumes called *Statistical account of Upper Canada*, by R. Gourlay (1822), and a volume of Introduction by the same author, give a good account of the state of the country. *Hints to Emigrants*, by Rev. William Bell (Edinburgh, 1824), was an exhibition of the crude condition of things in Upper Canada. A book of travels by John Howison, Esq. (Edinburgh and London, 1821, 3d ed. 1825), is called *Sketches of Upper Canada, domestic, local, and characteristic.* The author spent two and one half years in Canada. John M. Duncan, a Scottish traveller, passed through the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819, and (2 vols., Glasgow, 1823) gives a graphic description of Niagara Falls and other national objects, as well as of the Six Nations of Indians. An officer of the royal navy, F. F. De Roos, in a work published at London (1827), presents an appreciative account of Montreal and Kingston, and of the future of America. Another British officer, Basil Hall, R. N., in his *Travels in North America*, 1827–28 (Edinburgh, 1829), depicts in a lively manner the life of the settlers in western Canada. The novelist John Galt, in his *Autobiography* (London, 1833), describes the Canada Company, whose affairs he managed, and pictures the social condition of Upper Canada. Major Dunlop also wrote *Statistical sketches of Upper Canada* (1832). *Three years in Canada, 1826–1828* (London, 1829), by McTaggart, is a lively and useful sketch by one of the British engineers employed in building the Rideau canal. *Five Years' residence in the Canadas*, 1818–23 (London, 1824), by Edw. A. Talbot, presents the mixed society of Canada as viewed by a young Irish subaltern. There are pictures of the Canadian winter in George Head's *Forest Scenes* (London, 1829), and in Mrs. Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (New York, 1839). Some *Notes of a Journey through Canada and the United States and West Indies* (Edinburgh, 1838) was written by James Logan, advocate. He gives an account of Quebec and Montreal, but especially of the opening district of the western peninsula of Upper Canada. Canniff Haight describes *Country life in Canada fifty years ago* (Toronto, 1885). Capt. R. G. A. Levinge, in his *Echoes from the backwoods*, etc. (London, 1846), describes the huntsman's paradise of New Brunswick, the rebellion in Lower Canada, and the settlers' life in Upper Canada. T. R. Preston gives us an account of *Three years' residence in Canada, 1837–39* (London, 1840). An English writer, James S. Buckingham, dedicated to Governor Metcalfe his *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and other British Provinces* (London, 1843), containing a plan of national colonization. The rebellions of Upper and Lower Canada, the state of the Indians, and the features of the chief towns are discussed. *Canada and the Canadians* (London, 1846), by Sir Richard H. Bonnycastle, is the picture of colonial life as seen by an officer of high rank, and seen through the spectacles of imperial interests.[1] E. Ermatinger prepared a useful little book (1859) containing the biography of the quaint Irish officer Col. Talbot, who settled many townships along Lake Erie. The *Imperial papers on Emigration* (London, 1847–48) tell of the outflow of the British people, mainly at this time to New Brunswick. In the archives at Ottawa there is a considerable correspondence with the British quartermaster's department on the immigration of the period. *Roughing it in the bush*, by Mrs. S. Moodie (London, 1854; New York, 1877), is one of the most successful and attractive pictures given of Canadian life. It is by an officer's wife, a sister of Miss Agnes Strickland, the well-known British authoress. Major Strickland's *Twenty-seven Years in Canada West* (London, 1853) is another sketchy account of the emigrant's coming told by a brother of the preceding writer. The author was in the employ of the Canada Company while it was making settlements in Upper Canada. *The Emigrant* (London, 1847) is a series of sketches by Sir Francis Bond Head, some of them being interesting views of colonial life. There is no occasion to enumerate more of these later travels.

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[1] Toronto, 1852–53, 2 vols.

[2] [Cf. *ante*, VII. p. 427. — ED.]

[3] [Cf. *ante*, VII. p. 459. — ED.]

[4] [Cf. *ante*, VII. p. 427. *Operations of the right division of the army of Upper Canada.* He also published *Personal Memoirs* (Montreal, 1838). There is something to be gathered from Brymner's *Reports* (cf. 1887, p. civ), and J. W. de Peyster's *Miscellanies of an officer* (N. Y., 1888). — ED.]

NOTE. — [The opposite map is reduced from one in John Stewart's *Account of Prince Edward Island* (London, 1806). — ED.]

The literature connected with the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837–38 is somewhat extensive. The rebellions were the outcome of an agitation for twenty years in Upper, and for perhaps more than thirty years in Lower, Canada. The gradual growth of the feeling of inquietude in Lower Canada is thus shown by Mr. John Reade in *Canadiana* (March, 1889). "The *Report of the Gosford commission* gives some idea of the state of this (Lower Canada) province in the years preceding the rising. In 1824 was published a number of pamphlets for and against the union of the Canadas as a remedy for the existing dissatisfaction. Later a volume was published showing the alleged defects of the Constitutional Act. In 1828 appeared the *Report* of the select committee on the civil government, with the evidence of a number of prominent men. In 1832 was published a *Review of the proceedings in the Legislature of Lower Canada* in the previous year, with an appendix containing important documents. In 1832 a book was published in Montreal comprising the ninety-two resolutions, with debates on them. These successive publications (of which I have mentioned only a few of the many) indicate the increasing tension in the relations between the malcontent portion of the population and the authorities."

The French Canadian standpoint is taken in Carrier's *Les evenèments de 1837–38*, and in L. O. David's *Les patriotes de 1837–38*. So late as 1883 a controversy arose by an attack on M. Globensky, who had taken part on the loyal side, which drew forth a history of the rebellion by his son C. A. M. Globensky: *La rebellion de 1837 à Saint-Eustache* (Montreal, 1884).[1] M. Globensky's story was severely criticised by L. O. David, M. P. P. The Upper Canadian rebellion was no doubt hastened by Gourlay's writings, and especially by the *Seventh Report of the Grievance Committee of the Legislature of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1835). This publication embodied the results of indefatigable efforts to collect the records of wrongs, some real enough and others imaginary, which were made by the excitable William Lyon Mackenzie. A work published in London (1837), known as *Canadiana,* described the danger of the state of matters in Upper Canada, and no doubt influenced the authorities at the colonial office towards considering Canadian affairs. The most important work on the rebellion was, for years, *The life and times of William Lyon Mackenzie, with an account of the Canadian rebellion* (Philadelphia, 1862; Toronto, 1863). This was written by Mr. Charles Lindsey, a government officer in Toronto, and a son-in-law of Mr. Mackenzie. While a capable writer, Mr. Lindsey could hardly be expected to take a dispassionate view. The strong personality of William Lyon Mackenzie led to serious differences with his colleagues. The case "ex alterâ parte" was taken up by a young Canadian litterateur, since dead, Mr. J. C. Dent, who in 1885 published at Toronto *The story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion.* Mr. Dent had obtained from Dr. Rolph's family the documents of Dr. Rolph, who was Mackenzie's chief opponent after their quarrel. These papers, which were afterwards obtained by Mr. Brymner, and are now in the archives at Ottawa, were skilfully used by Mr. Dent, who made out a case to Mackenzie's disadvantage. Mr. Dent's work as a literary performance deserves praise, and throws much light on the complications of the rebellion. Fairness, however, demands an opinion which, while by no means exonerating Mackenzie, yet by no means supports Mr. Dent's positions. The work brought out a keen rejoinder entitled, *The other side of the story* (1886), by Mr. John King, a lawyer, and another son-in-law of Mackenzie.

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[1] [Later, *Canada as it was and may be, with additions by Sir James Edw. Alexander* (London, 1852). Cf. his *Newfoundland in 1842, a sequel to his Canada in 1841* (London, 1842), the latter book being published at London in 1841. — ED.]

The despatches received by Sir Francis Bond Head (1839), Sir Francis' despatches (1837), and Sir Francis' *Narrative of his government in Upper Canada* (Toronto and London, 1838, 1839) give the loyalist side, with an attempted defence of the governor's conduct.[2] Judge Haliburton also wrote *The Bubbles of Canada* (London, 1839), in which

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[1] It contains a reprint of a *Journal de Messire Paquin, Curé de St. Eustache pendant les troubles de 1837–38.*

[2] [Head's *Narrative,* together with the *Report* of the Earl of Durham, constitute the *App. to the Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1839). Durham was the high commissioner "to inquire into, and, as far as may be possible, to adjust all questions depending in the provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, or either of them, respecting the form and administration of the civil government thereof." His *Report on the affairs of British North America* was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, Feb. 11, 1839, and is included in the *Sessional Papers, Reports from Commissioners,* vol. xvii. (London, 1839). An appendix contains a variety of papers illustrative of the condition of the provinces.

CONTENTS OF THE APPENDICES. — A. Special report on the excessive appropriation of public land, under the name of clergy reserves; militia claims to grants of land; state of the hospitals, prisons, charitable institutions, etc., in Lower Canada; addresses presented to the Earl of Durham in 1838; letter from William Young on the state of Nova Scotia; letter from A. Macdonell, catholic bishop of Kingston; memorial of A. Manahan complaining of the exclusion of Roman Catholics (Irish) from places of emolument and honor in the government of Upper Canada; memorial of representatives of Scotch Church in Montreal; address from the Constitutional Association of Montreal to the inhabitants of British America.

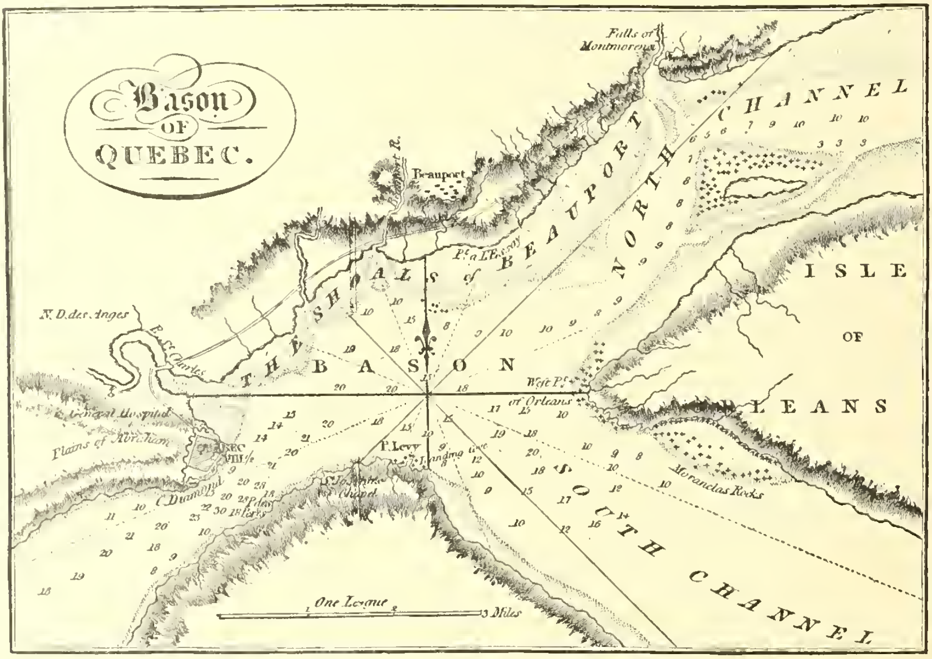
B. Commission appointing C. Buller to inquire into the past and present methods of disposing of waste lands, woods, forests, and other domains and hereditaments, the property of the Crown in Lower Canada, etc.; circular despatches from the governor-general to the respective lieutenant-governors of her Majesty's colonies in North America; report to the governor-general [on public lands and emigration]. Minutes of evidence taken before assistant commissioners of crown lands and emigration.

C. Reports of commissioners of inquiry into the municipal institutions of Lower Canada; report of the bishop of Montreal on the state of the church within his diocese.

D. Commission appointing A Buller to inquire into and investigate the past and present modes of disposing of the produce of any estate or funds applicable to purposes of education in Lower Canada, etc.; report of the commissioner of inquiry into the state of education in Lower Canada; Jesuits' estates. Returns made to education commission, 1838. Jesuits' estates; report of Mr. Dunkin.

E. Report on the commutation of the feudal tenures in the island of Montreal, and other seigniories in the possession of the Seigniory of St. Sulpice of Montreal; ordinance of the governor-general and special council of Lower travelling over the antecedent ground he endeavors to show the unreasonableness of the Canadian people, and to cast contempt on the remedies employed to pacify them. *Sutherland's letters to Her Majesty* (1841) and E. A. Theller's *Canada in 1837–38* (Philadelphia, 1841), bear on the events of the same stirring time. Theller was an American sympathizer who for a while was a prisoner in Quebec.

The trials and the subsequent action of the executive in sending a number of the prisoners after the rebellion into banishment led to a literature of its own. There were very soon made public two important records of the history of the revolt. The first was the *Report of the State Trials before a General Court-martial at Montreal, 1838–39, exhibiting a complete history of the late rebellion* (Montreal, 1839, in two vols.). The other was Fry's *Case of the Canadian prisoners*. Other works like Miller's *Notes of an Exile of Van Dieman's Land* (1846), D. Heustis' *Adventures in Canada and Van Dieman's Land* (1847),[1] Wait's *Letters from Van Dieman's Land* (1843), and Prieur's *Notes d'un condamné politique de 1838* are memorials of this unfortunate crisis in Canadian affairs.[2]



From *Letters from Canada* (London, 1809).

A considerable number of works on the history of special localities are worthy of our notice. Some of these are merely gazetteers, but some embody research, and will be of service to the general historian. We can but mention several of the best: Dr. Poole's *Early Settlement of Peterboro'* (1867); James Young's *Galt and its Neighborhood* (Toronto, 1880); James Croil's *Dundas* (1861); *Contributions to the history of the Eastern Townships* (Montreal, 1866), and *Shefford* (1877), by C. Thomas; Mrs. C. N. Day's

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Canada, for incorporating the Seminary of St. Sulpice of Montreal; report on the establishment of a registry of real property in Lower Canada. — Ed.]

[1] [The Boston ed. (1817) is called: *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Capt. Daniel D. Heustis.* — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. also Felix Poutré's *Echappé de la potence. Souvenir d'un prisonnier d'état Canadien en 1838* (Quebec, 1869, 1884). Statements regarding the losses and compensations as resulting from the rebellion make vol. xxxv. (1849) of the parliamentary blue books, *Accounts and Papers*. There is a recent account of the rebellion, by D. W. Cross, in the *Mag. Amer. Hist.* February and March, 1888. — Ed.]

Pioneers (1863), and *History of the Eastern Townships* (1869); B. F. Hubbard's *History of Stanstead County*, revised by John Lawrence (Montreal, 1874); Acton Burrows' *Guelph* (1877); *Halifax and its business*, by G. White (1876); Leavitt's *Leeds and Grenville* (1879); *Montreal and its fortifications*, by A. Sandham (1874), *Its prison*, by Rev. J. D. Borthwick (1880); *Hochelaga depicta*, by Newton Bosworth (Montreal, 1846); *Ottawa (past and present)*, by C. Roger (1871); Hawkins' *Picture of Quebec* (1834); *Chronique Trifluvienne*, by B. Sulte (Montreal, 1870); numerous works on Toronto — Dr. Henry Scadding's (1878) *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873); and other books by C. Mulvaney (1884), G. M. Adam, C. C. Taylor (1886); Robert Sellar's *History of the County of Huntingdon and of the Seigniores of Chateaugay and Beauharnais, to 1838* (Huntingdon, Q., 1888); *Esquisse sur la Gaspesie*, by J. C. Langlier; and Buie's *Saguenay.*

From D. W. Smyth's *Gazetteer of the Province of Upper Canada* (N. Y., 1813).

Among special histories may be classed, *The Irishman in Canada*, by Nicholas Flood Davin, and the *Scot in British North America* (Toronto, 1880–85), by W. J. Rattray, these works being largely biographical.

In the discussion on the Hudson Bay Company,[1] mention is made of the works on the Red River country. The chief books of reference on Canadian Northwestern history are Alexander Ross's *Red River Settlement* (London, 1856) — rather onesided in some particulars, but useful; *Red River*, by J. J. Hargrave (Montreal, 1871), written by a Hudson

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[1] [*Ante*, ch. I. For the Hudson Bay Company's relation to Canada, see E. W. Watkins' *Canada and the States, 1851–1886* (London, 1887). — Ed.]

Bay Company officer, and intended to be a vindication of the company in some points, especially valuable for chapters vi., vii., viii., which give the principles of the company's rule; *History of Manitoba* (Ottawa, 1880), by Hon. Donald Gunn and C. R. Tuttle — the portion up to 1835 written by the former of these two, being the story of an eye-witness who came out in Lord Selkirk's ships; Rattray's *Scot in British North America*, which in its early chapters covers fur-hunting experience and those of the Selkirk colony; and *Manitoba, its infancy, growth, and present condition* (London, 1882), by the present writer.[1]

Of the most western province of Canada, British Columbia, much has been written. The best works on its history belonging to our period are, Fitzgerald's *Charter and proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, with reference to Vancouver's Island* (1849); *Vancouver Island and British Columbia* (London, 1850), by J. D. Pemberton; *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, as described by Matthew McFie (London, 1865); and *Four years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), by R. C. Mayne.

QUEBEC, 1816.*

A considerable literature has arisen in Canada in connection with the founding and growth of its churches. These involve continual references to the general history of the country. We mention only some of the more important. *Rise and progress of the Church of England in the British American Provinces* (Halifax, 1849), by Dr. T. B. Akins; *Missions of the Church of England in North American Colonies* (London, 1848), by E. Hawkins; *History of the Church of England in the Colonies* (London, 1845, 1856), by Rev. J. S. M. Anderson; *History of the Secession (Presbyterian) Church in Nova Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1847), by Rev. J. Robertson; *Story of the Kirk in the Maritime Provinces* (1875), by James Croil; *Life and times of Dr. Robert Burns*, by his son R. F. Burns, in Halifax, N. S. (Toronto, 1872); *Life and discourses of Rev. Alex. Mathieson, D. D.* (Montreal, 1870), by James Croil; *Memoir of Dr. John Bayne, of Galt* (Toronto, 1871), by Dr. Smellie; Wm. Bettridge, *Brief History of the Church of Upper Canada* (London, 1838); *Memorials of John Machar* (Toronto, 1873), by his daughter ("Fidelis"); *History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1885), by Dr. William Gregg; *History of St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal* (1887), by Robert Campbell, containing many facts about the Northwest Fur Company; *History of the Methodist Church of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, 1877); *Memoirs of William Black, Wesleyan* (Halifax, 1839), by Dr. William Ritchie; *History of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto, 1862), by George F. Playter; *Case and his contemporaries* (Toronto, 1882), by John Carroll, D. D.; *Fifty years with Baptist ministers of Maritime Provinces* (St. John, N. B., 1880), by Rev. I. E. Bill; Howley's

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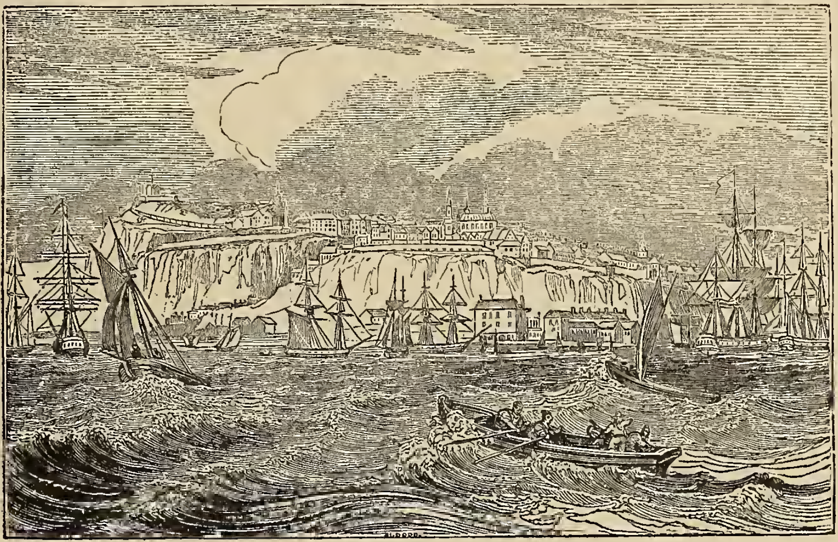
[1] [The *Canadiana* (March, 1889) recognizes the value of this work. Professor Bryce has contributed a paper on the "Five Forts of Winnipeg" to the *Roy. Soc. Canada, Proc.* iii. (2) p. 135. Cf. also G. M. Adam's *Canadian Northwest* (Toronto, 1885). The first Canadian woman who went to the Red River region was Marie Anne Gaboury, who is commemorated by the Abbé G. Dugast in *La Première Canadienne du nord ouest* (Montreal, 1883). — Ed.]

* From the *Colonial Journal* (London, 1816), vol. ii.

Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland (Boston, 1888); Abbé Chaudonnet's *Notre Dame des Canadiens* (1872); Gosselin's *Histoire populaire de l'Eglise du Canada* (1887); *History of the Guibord Case* (1875); Henri Têtu's *Les Évêques de Québec* (Quebec, 1889).

The field of political history and biography has been by no means neglected in Canada. The public men of Canada have been treated by several writers in general biographies. Most notable of these is *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (Quebec, 1862), by H. J. Morgan, including nearly one hundred biographies. Another of these is *The Canadian portrait gallery* (Toronto, 1875, 1882), by J. C. Dent, with letterpress description, and in many cases well-executed portraits, of one hundred and fifty of Canada's prominent men. Still another is *Portraits of British Canadians* (Montreal, 1865), by Fannings Taylor; and a more extended series of biographies than any is *Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1886), by G. M. Rose. A work of ethnographic importance, and reflecting credit on its author for marvellous industry, is the *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles Canadiennes* (1871–1887, in 4 vols.), giving, it is said, the descent of upwards of a million of the French Canadians. This has been the *Magnum opus* of the patient Abbé Tanguay. The learned Abbé Casgrain published in French, *Biographies Canadiennes* (1873), and three years later, L. O. David followed with *Biographies et portraits* (Ottawa, 1880).



QUEBEC, 1837.*

Of the lives of the governors there are G. L. Scrope's *Memoir of Lord Sydenham* (London, 1844); *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin* (London, 1872), a very interesting work, by Theodore Walrond;[1] John W. Kaye's *Life and Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe* (London, 1854, 1858),[2] and *Uncle Ben's Life of Governor Metcalfe* (1846) (a pamphlet).

The Clergy Reserve struggle has a considerable literature which may be found in the ecclesiastical histories just given, as well as in Charles Lindsey's *History of the Clergy Reserves* (Toronto, 1851), and in the lives of the great politico-ecclesiastical leaders of the time.[3] *The Story of my Life* (Toronto, 1883) is by one of these leaders, Egerton Ryerson, and is edited by Dr. Hodgins. It is interesting and important. The *Memoir of Bishop Strachan* (Toronto, 1870), by his successor, Bishop Bethune, presents a personality of great power, though a more powerful biographer would have drawn the lines more strongly.[1] Fannings Taylor, in *Last Three Bishops appointed by the Crown* (Montreal, 1869), gives a history of Lower Canadian affairs as related to Bishops Fulford and Mountain, and of Upper Canadian, in which Dr. Strachan took so foremost a part. The *Reminiscences of his Public Life*, by Sir Francis Hincks (Montreal, 1884), is a record since 1830 of one of the most active-minded politicians Canada ever possessed — and a determined opponent to State Churchism, as is shown in his *Religious Endowments in Canada* (London, 1869).[2] One of the chief moulding men of his time was Hon. George Brown; and his life (Toronto, 1882) has been fairly well written by Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, on whom his mantle fell as exponent of the principles of the liberal party. Mr. Brown's great political opponent was Sir John A. Macdonald, whose life has been written by J. E. Collins, in the *Life and Times of the Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald* (Toronto, 1883). The distinguished Lower Canadian colleague of Sir John Macdonald was Sir George Etienne Cartier, who had a marvellous magnetic power over his countrymen as a leader. A short sketch of his life was issued (1873), by L. O. David. An interesting history of legal affairs in Upper Canada has this year (1889) been published under the title, *The Lives of the Chief Justices of Upper Canada*, by D. B. Read, a lawyer of Toronto. For many years one of the most prominent figures in the history of the Lower Provinces was Joseph Howe, leader of the liberals. His name was long one to conjure by, and his influence in Nova Scotia was at times almost unbounded. His *Speeches and Public Letters* were published (1858) by William Annand, a political admirer. Howe's only opponent of note in later years was Honorable, now Sir Charles Tupper, whose life has been sketched (1883) by C. Thibault.

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[1] [Cf. *Condition and Prospects of Canada in 1854, as portrayed in the Despatches of the Earl of Elgin* (Quebec, 1855). — Ed.]

[2] [Sir Francis Hincks (*Polit. Hist.*, 1877) speaks of this life as "casting the vilest imputations on all who differed in opinion with his hero." — Ed.]

[3] [Some of the documentary illustrations will be found in *Papers relative to Clergy Reserves*, presented to parliament, February 11, 1853, in Sir

* After a cut in *The Mirror*, February 11, 1837.

Two men who were intimately bound up with the commercial development of Canada have been kept in remembrance by friends or admirers. The first of these is Hon. Richard Cartwright, a public man of note in Kingston, whose *Life and Letters* (1876) was published by his son Rev. C. E. Cartwright. A man worthy of being remembered is Hon. William Merritt, of great public spirit, the promoter of the Welland Canal, and a man of just and upright mind. His *Biography* (1878) contains an "account of some of the most important public works in Canada."

It remains to notice what may be called the general histories of Canada, and these vary very much in excellence. Hugh Murray's *Hist. and Descriptive Account of British America* (Edinburgh, 1839, in 3 vols.) is a book of a past generation. *The Last Forty Years; or, Canada since the Union of 1841* (Toronto, 1881), by J. C. Dent, is the best example of true historic research in our Canadian history, if, perhaps, Garneau be excepted. It deals with the affairs of Canada in a truthful and skilful manner. *Canada: Past, Present, and Future* (Toronto), by W. H. Smith, is more of a gazetteer than a history. Portions of it are, however, useful. A *History of Canada* (Montreal, 1862 and 1866), by Andrew Bell, is a distorted translation of Garneau. No translator has a right to take such liberties with his author as is done in this case. While somewhat useful, the work is not one to be approved. Of the *History of Canada* (Brockville, 1868, and London, 1869), by John McMullen, *Canadiana* (January, 1889) says: "It was written at a distance from original sources of information, and is therefore defective." Two large volumes make up the *Illustrated History of the Dominion* (Boston, 1887), by C. R. Tuttle, which is a compilation from the ordinary sources of information. *A Popular History of the Dominion of*

Francis Hincks' lecture on the *Polit. Hist. of Canada*, etc. — ED.]

[1] [Cf. Henry Scadding's *Dr. Strachan the first Bishop of Toronto, a Review and a Study* (Toronto, 1868). — ED.]

[2] [Cf. also his *Polit. Hist. of Canada, 1840–1855, a Lecture* (Montreal, 1877), in which he quotes largely from his *Religious Endowments*, which having been privately printed is difficult to find. Compare Sir Alexander T. Galt's *Canada, 1849–1859*, Quebec, 1860. — ED.]

Canada (Boston, 1878), by Rev. Dr. Withrow of Toronto, and also found in a later edition, is a considerable volume, of which there is a résumé prepared as a school history.[1] Of *A Short History of the Canadian People* (London, 1887), by the present writer, the *Canadiana* (January, 1889) says : " Dr. Bryce's book deserves the praise that is due to faithful work. . . . He has shed new and welcome light on several phases of our growth as a nation."

In closing it may be well to state the chief centres in Canada where important documents useful to the historian may be found. Ottawa is certainly the Mecca of Canadian historians. The ever increasing value of the archives will give it first rank. The military correspondence; Haldimand and Bouquet collections ; papers on Red River ; Rolph papers ; Bulger papers, and other collections will no doubt be largely added to as the years roll on. The parliamentary library, too, has a splendid collection of Canadian works, though they sadly need to be arranged and catalogued. The new Public Library of Toronto is making great strides. Its nucleus of " Canadiana " was made by the presentation of works on Canada by a public-spirited citizen of Toronto, Mr. Hallam, to the public library ; and the considerable means at the disposal of the library are being judiciously used. A reference catalogue issued (1889) to increase this, by its capable librarian, Mr. James Bain, shows the collections made to date. The Fraser Institute, Montreal, represents a new and vigorous life which will no doubt gather strength and preserve to some extent the material of the old Institut Canadien, which had fallen into misfortune and decay. A young and hopeful " Society for Historical Studies " is doing good work in Montreal, and meets at the Fraser Institute. The society has begun with this year (1889) a monthly journal, called *Canadiana*, which promises to be of service to the society and to historical research generally. The most famous society in Canada was for many years the " Quebec Literary and Historical Society." Its transactions, extending from 1829–86, contain many excellent papers. The society has unfortunately in late years failed to show the same energy and devotion to research as in days gone by.[2] The Nova Scotia Historical Society, meeting at Halifax, has since 1878 issued its transactions and has, in connection with the Provincial Parliamentary Library, a valuable set of documents.[3] The Manitoba Historical, Scientific Society at Winnipeg has during the ten years of its existence done a considerable amount of work on archæology and northwestern history, confining its researches to the "region north and west of Lake Superior." It has issued transactions in brochures up to 35 in number, which now make a volume. It has lately come into possession of a valuable series of documents, ranging from 1817–25, of Lord Selkirk, and colony papers found in the recently dismantled Fort Garry. The Marquis of Lorne, when governor-general of Canada, organized the " Royal Society of Canada," with four sections. Two of these cultivate literature and history. Five large quarto volumes, published in Montreal (1882–87), contain the best of the papers read, among which are many valuable contributions to Canadian history, both by French and English writers.

George Bryce

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[1] *An Abridged History of Canada, by W. H. Withrow, also an Outline History of Canadian Literature by G. Mercer Adam* (Toronto, 1887).

[2] [Cf. *ante*, V. p. 616 This society has since 1838 published five series of *Historical Documents* (1838, reprinted 1873 ; 1840, 1843, 1861, 1866–67, 1871, 1875, 1877, — each in a single volume). They mainly relate to earlier periods than the one now under consideration, though there are some papers relating to the American invasion in 1775–76 in the 2d, 3d, and 4th series, and the 5th is wholly devoted to the war of 1812. It has also printed five volumes of *Transactions* (1829, 1831, 1837, 1843–56, 1862), and a *new series*, consisting of eighteen numbers up to 1886, with details of successive sessions. — Ed.]

[3] [Cf. *ante*, V. p. 419. — Ed.]

EDITORIAL NOTE ON NEWFOUNDLAND.

THERE had been some agitation respecting the settlement of Newfoundland, in 1609, among the Bristol people, and a transient colony, under the auspices of Bristol merchants, seems soon afterwards to have made a temporary lodgment on the island.

The leader in Newfoundland discovery, however, as inducing settlement, was Capt. Richard Whitbourne, who says that more than forty years' experience in making voyages to and from the island had given him great familiarity with it. He printed at London, in 1620, *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland, with many reasons to proove how worthy and beneficiall a plantation may there be made.* This first edition of a tract, which, as the Rev. Charles Pedley in his *History of Newfoundland* (London, 1863) says, loses much of its value from the author's over credulousness, is very rare, as are also second and third editions, issued in 1622 and 1623.[1] The second and third editions contained in addition to the book of 1620 a *Discourse containing a loving invitation to all such as shall be adventurers, either in person or purse, for the advancement of his Majesties most hopefull plantation in the Newfoundland lately undertaken*, which was first published separately in London in 1622.[2] In reprinting this in the edition of 1623, some alterations were made, and there were also added to this new conglomerate issue (1623) "copies of certaine letters sent from that country," which are sometimes found in separate issues.[3]

Sir William Vaughan, a Welshman, had endeavored in 1617 to plant a colony in Newfoundland, and spent several years there, after inducing a number of emigrants to accept his offers. He wished for more, and had in mind to set forth the advantages of his colony in print; but the booksellers convinced him that plain statements never sold, and so in a fantastic way he got up a little book, mixing truth and fiction with more quaintness than assimilation, which gives the present reader scarcely more satisfaction than it afforded the wandering minds of his own day, who could feed on whimsicalities enough nearer home. It was printed in London in 1626, as *The Golden Fleece Diuided into three Parts, Vnder which are discouered the Errours of Religion, the Vices and Decayes of the Kingdome, and lastly the wayes to get wealth, and to restore Trading so much complayned of. Transported from Cambrioll Colchos, out of the Southermost Part of the Iland, commonly called the Newfoundland, by Orpheus junior.*[4] Vaughan also published in 1630 *The Newlander's Cure . . . generall and speciall remedies . . . against grievous infirmities, published for the weale of Great Brittaine.* This was dedicated to his brother, the Earl of Carbery, and in the introductory letter to that nobleman he says that thirteen years before he had transported to his patent certain colonies of men and women at his own charge; but that because of the burden on his weak shoulders he had assigned the northerly portion of the grant to Viscount Faulkland, and (upon Carbery's motion) to Lord Baltimore, "who has lived there these two yeeres with his lady and children."[5] In 1623 Calvert was made proprietor of the whole southeastern peninsula under the charter of Avalon.[6]

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[1] Brinley, i. nos. 120, 121; Rich, 1832, no. 155 (£1.10); O'Callaghan, no. 2402; H. C. Murphy, nos. 2715–17; Carter-Brown, ii. no. 247; Griswold, no. 939; Crowninshield, no. 1109; Barlow, 304–307; Harv. Coll. lib., 4344, 23 and 24; J. A. Allen, *Bibliog. of Cetacea*, no. 47; Menzies, no. 2118. F. S. Ellis priced a 1623 edition, in 1884, at £10.10.0 (*Catalogue*, no. 315), and Quaritch, in 1885, a 1622 ed. at £6, and in 1889 at £10.

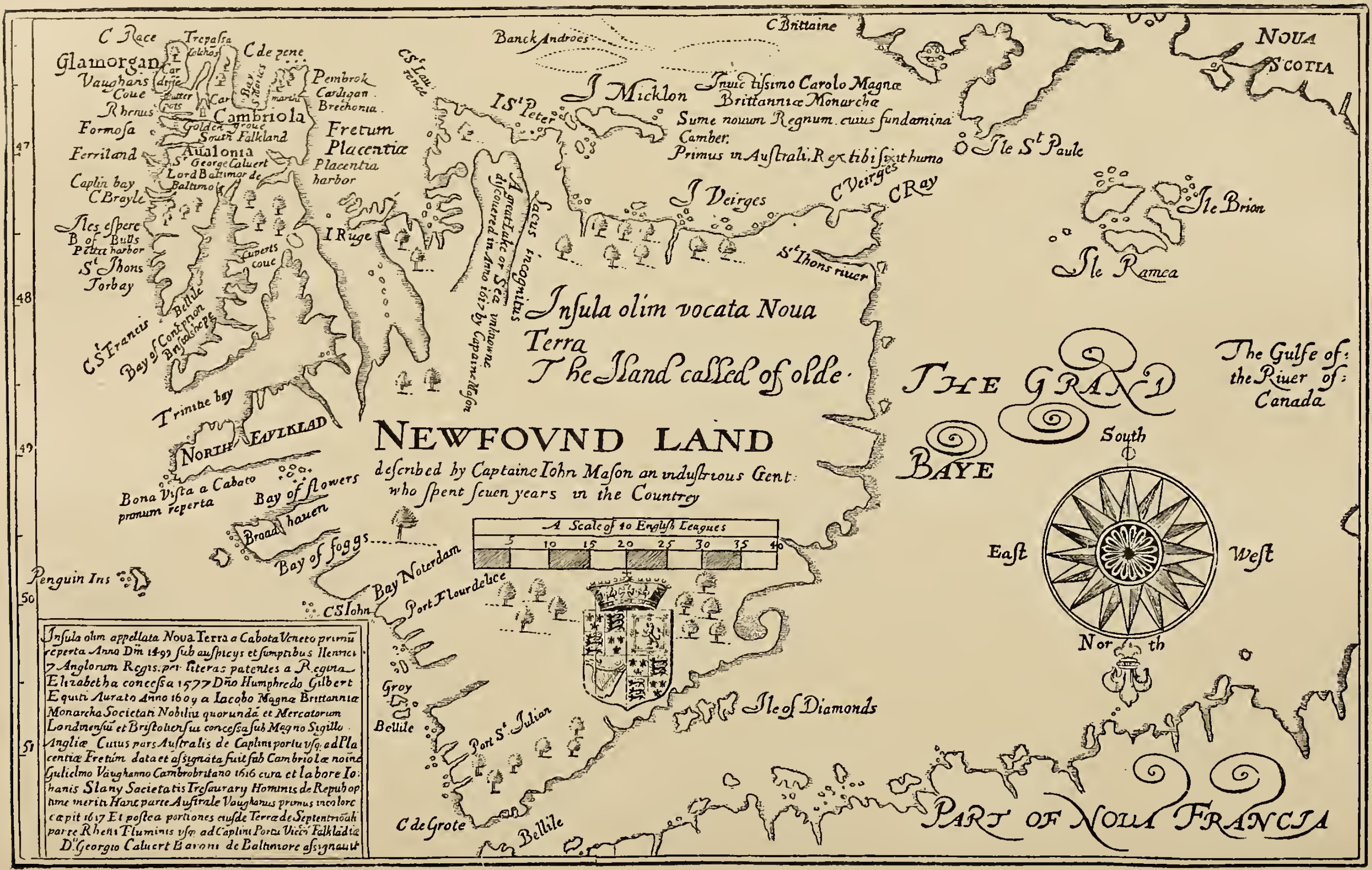
[2] Rich, 1832, no. 161; Carter-Brown, ii. no. 279.

[3] Letters from Captain Wynne, governor of Ferryland, July and Aug., 1622, to Sir George Calvert; from Capt. Daniel Powell, 28 July, 1622; and from N. H., a gentleman living there, Aug. 18, 1622, to his worthy friend, W. P. Cf. Carter-Brown, ii. nos. 278, 286; *Sparks Catalogue*, No. 1856; and Brymner's *Report*, 1881, pp. 27–29. Whitbourne's original tract was translated into Latin and German in Hulsius' *Voyages*, Part XX. (Carter-Brown, i. p. 497). The English original was republished as *Westward hoe for Avalon in the New-found-land; as described by Captain Richard Whitbourne, 1622. Edited and illustrated by T. Whitburn* (London, 1870).

[4] Copies of the book, if perfect, bring from £3 to £6. Rich (no. 177) noted such a copy in 1832 at £2.10.0. Cf. *Crowninshield Catal.*, no. 1069; Brinley, i. no. 118, with map in fac-simile; Carter-Brown, ii. no. 323. The map is inscribed, "Newfoundland, described by Captaine John Mason, an industrious Gent., who spent seven years in the countrey;" and it is often wanting. A fac-simile of the map is given in David Laing's *Royal letters, etc., relating to New Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1867), and in Tuttle's *John Mason.*

[5] Carter-Brown, ii. no. 370; *No. Am. Rev.* iv. 288.

[6] Cf. Vol. III. p. 561; also pp. 519, 523; Kirke, *Conquest of Canada;* S. Colliber's *Columna rostrata*, (London, 1728; cf. Sabin, iv. 14,414); Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, pp. 28, 40, 103. The Avalon charter is printed in Scharf's *Hist. of Maryland*, i. p. 34. The date of Baltimore's abandonment of the colony is discussed in



Insula olim appellata Noua Terra a Cabota Veneto primu reperta Anno Dm 1497 sub auspicys et sumptibus Henrici 7 Anglorum Regis: per literas patentes a Regina Elizabetha concessa 1577 Dño Humphredo Gilbert Equiti Aurato Anno 1609 a Iacobo Magnæ Brittanniæ Monarcha Societati Nobiliu quorundā et Mercatorum Londinensiū et Bristoliensiu concessa sub Magno Sigillo Angliæ Cuius pars Australis de Caplini portu usq: ad Placentiæ Fretum data et assignata fuit sub Cambriolæ noine Gulielmo Vaughanno Cambrobritano 1616 cura et labore Iohanis Slany Societatis Thesaurary Hominis de Repub optime meriti Hanc parte Australe Vaughanus primus incolore cœpit 1617 Et postea portiones eiusde Terræ de Septentrionali parte Rhenis Fluminis usq: ad Caplini Portu Vicē Falklādia D'. Georgio Caluert Baroni de Baltimore assignauit

Capt. John Mason, a merchant of London, later known as the proprietor of New Hampshire, was at one time governor of Newfoundland, and a promoter of colonization there, which he sought to further by a tract, which was printed at Edinburgh in 1620: *A briefe Discourse of the Newfoundland, with the situation, temperature and commodities thereof, inciting our nation to goe forward in that hopefull plantation begunne.*[1] It was reprinted in 1867 by the Bannatyne Club in David Laing's *Royal Letters, etc., relating to New Scotland*, which contains an account of Mason and other early promoters of the colonization of Newfoundland.[2] A map of Newfoundland was made from Mason's surveys, and appeared in 1626 in Vaughan's *Golden Fleece*, and is the earliest special representation of the configuration of the coast.[3]

There are two other early tracts: *A short discourse of the Newfoundland, contayning diverse reasons and inducements for the planting of that colony. Published for the satisfaction of all such as shall be willing to be adventurers in the said Plantation.* Dublin, 1623.[4] Richard Eburne's *Plaine Pathway to Plantations . . . with certain motives for a present plantation in Newfoundland above the rest, 1624.*[5]

Robert Hayman, "sometimes governor of the plantations there," fixed upon the country the new name of "Britaniola," in a collection of epigrams which he wrote there, and which he published in London, in 1628, as *Quodlibets lately come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland.*[6] The Crown in 1633 published *A Commission for the well gouverning of our peeple inhabiting in Newfoundland.*[7]

Beside the general histories of Canada and New France, covering the history of Newfoundland, with Captain Griffeth Williams's account of the island of Newfoundland (London, 1765) and John Reeves' *Hist. of the Government of Newfoundland* (London, 1793), there have been three distinct monographs during the present century: —

Lewis Amadeus Anspach, *History of the island of Newfoundland* (London, 1819, 1827). The author was a magistrate and missionary of the island.

Charles Pedley, *History of Newfoundland to 1860* (London, 1863). Prepared from the public archives at the instance of the governor of the colony.

Joseph Hatton and M. Harvey, *Newfoundland, the oldest British colony; its history, its present condition, and its prospects* (London, 1883).

To these may be added: —

M. F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (Boston, 1888); and for travels, Sir R. H. Bonnycastle's *Newfoundland in 1842* (London, 1842); J. B. Jukes' *Excursions in and about Newfoundland, 1839–1840* (London, 1842); and Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg's *Kanada und Neufundland nach einigen Reisen und Beobachtungen* (Freiburg).

As respects the neighboring Labrador, there is much to elucidate its early cartographical history in *ante*, Vol. IV.; and Chavanne (*Polar Regions*, p. 220) gives something of a bibliography. Cartwright's *Journal* is one of the older authorities. Cf. Henry Y. Hinde's *Explorations in the interior of the Labrador peninsula, the Country of the Montagnais and Nasquapee Indians* (London, 1863), and W. A. Stearns' *Labrador, a sketch of its peoples, its industries, and its natural history* (Boston, 1884).

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the *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1883; Oct., 1885. As late as the middle of the last century, the representative of Lord Baltimore made claim to the territory of Avalon, and a report of the attorney and solicitor general on that claim, April 5, 1754, is among the Shelburne MSS., vol. 61, as noted in the *Hist. MSS. Commission, Report V.*, p. 230.

[1] Sabin, xi. 45,453, who quotes the title from Lowndes, adding that the tract is "so rare that we have been unable to find a copy." Laing says only three copies are known. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Eng. Books to 1640*, p. 1076. The Prince Society has recently published *Captain John Mason, the founder of New Hampshire, including his tract on Newfoundland, 1620, and a Memoir by C. W. Tuttle, edited by John Ward Dean* (Boston, 1887).

[2] Carter-Brown, ii. no. 239.

[3] Howley in his *Ecclesiastical Hist. of Newfoundland* gives various early maps, including one found in the Vatican, dated 1556. The earlier draft of Lescarbot is given *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 379, where are some notes on antecedent maps. Mason's map is among the Kohl collection, no. 168. A map by Nicolas Visscher is considered the earliest with elaborate soundings on the banks. Popple (1733) and Buache (1736) made maps (North collection in Harvard Coll. lib., ii. nos. 5–7). There is a map in Charlevoix, by Bellin, which is reproduced in Shea's translation. A *Pilot de Terre Neuve* was published in 1784 (Harv. Coll. Atlases, no. 650).

[4] Carter-Brown, ii. no. 283.

[5] Carter-Brown, ii. no. 291; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1883, p. 230. It is a rare book.

[6] Carter-Brown, ii. nos. 335, 336.

[7] Harv. Coll. lib., 4344. 20.

NOTE. — The map on the preceding page is a fac-simile of that in Mason's *Briefe Discourse.*

CHAPTER IV.

SPANISH NORTH AMERICA.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR.

IN the second volume of the present work the progress of Spanish exploration and settlement in North America was traced down to the withdrawal of Cortés from Mexico in 1540, and to the return of Coronado from his long and northward march in 1542. There were some intentionally brief indications given of other Spanish explorations towards New Mexico even so late as the alleged expedition of Peñalosa in 1662; while the course of maritime discovery along the Pacific coast was sketched in outline to the close of the eighteenth century, connecting it with the distinctively Arctic ventures, which are followed in the present volume in preceding chapters.[1] It is the present purpose to pursue, in a condensed way, the general course of the succeeding history of the Spanish countries in North America down to the middle of the nineteenth century. We have seen how in 1535 Spain had sent her first viceroy to Mexico in Antonio de Mendoza. New Spain was under his sway until 1550, and the story of the vice-regal period begins with eliciting our sympathy, as it continued to do, for the natives, degraded beneath inhuman burdens. They were baptized by the millions, if we may believe the figures; but it may be a question if such spiritual relief, imagined or actual, was equal in beneficence to the release of death which came by other millions, as the record goes, through disease and inhumanity. The Spaniards indeed conquered provinces, established towns, and developed mines, and in all this the country seemed prosperous; but Benzoni, travelling through the country, tells us how their rapacious laws and the bondage of the Indians depopulated whole towns. It seemed, in fact, to matter little whether a tribe was an ally or an enemy; the scourge and the doom were as sure for each. The natives revolted only to intensify the horrors of their situation. It was death in the mines, and inhumanity worse than death in the fields. Las Casas, as we have seen,[2] pleaded so vehemently that at last, by imperial cédula and by the code of the so-called new laws,[3] remedies were established to prevent depopulation and horrors. The measures were not indeed so radical as Las Casas had wished, but still there was justice enough in them to prevent slavery for all but those then subjected to it under a legal title.

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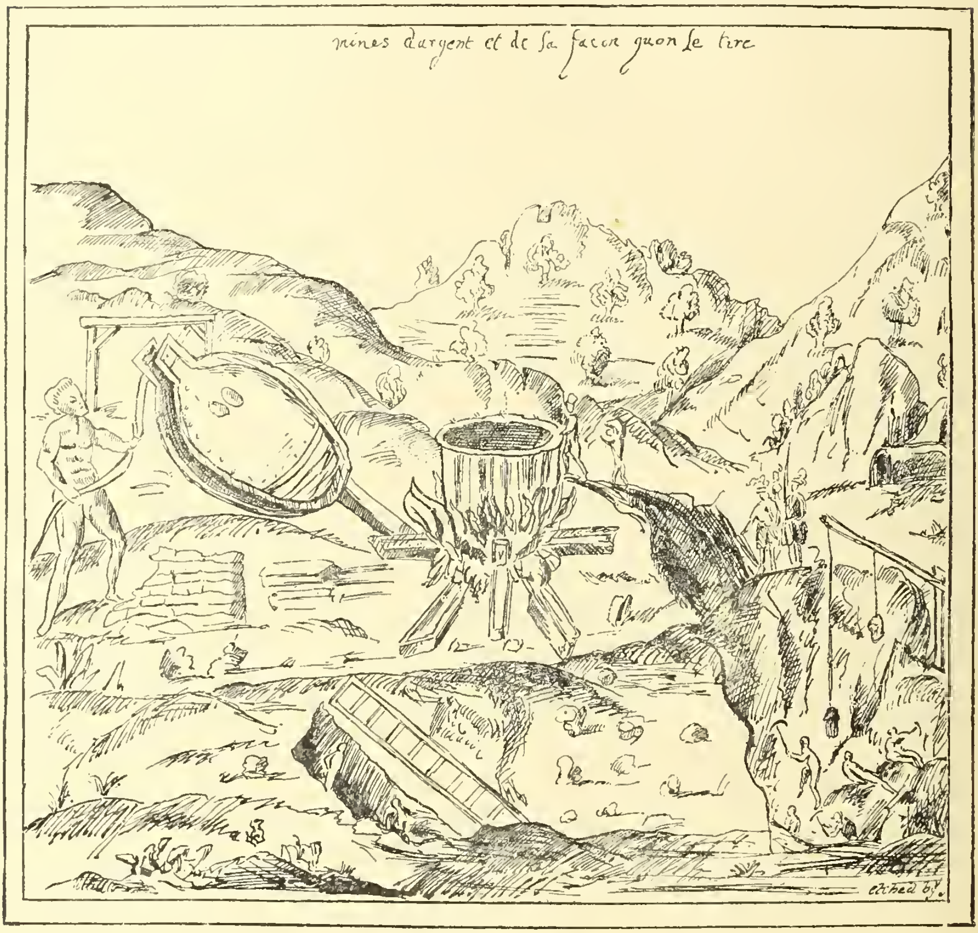
[1] Ch. 1 and 2.

[2] Vol. II. ch. 5.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 537.

Francisco Tello de Sandoval was sent to execute these laws, and landed at Vera Cruz in March, 1544. The ordinances soon provoked opposition from the Spanish owners of encomiendas[1] and from the religious orders, which were likewise interested in preserving the old conditions. These opponents of the statutes combined to make such representations that in 1545 the laws in their obnoxious traits were revoked, notwithstanding the protests of Las Casas. In other respects the rule of Mendoza was not without success. He improved the social and external conditions of life; he subjugated and pacified distant tribes of the hostile Chichimecs in


mines dargent et de la facon quon le tire
etched by

A SILVER MINE.*

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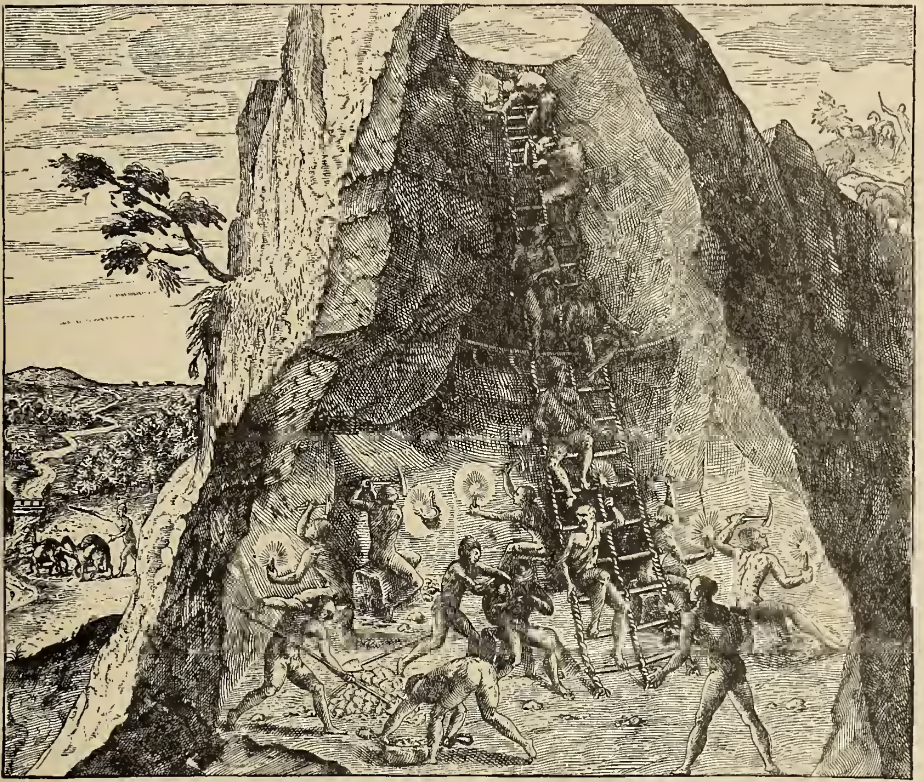
[1] The original MS. of Cortés' opinion on encomiendas is noted in Stevens, *Bibl. Amer.*, 1885, priced at £12. 12. 0. Cf. Vol. II. p. 348, for an account of this institution.

* Champlain's sketch in his *Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (London, 1859). The etchings of the originals in this volume were done by Mrs. C. R. Markham.

Zacatecas, and crowned his conquests here and in New Galicia by opening sources of revenue in their mines.

In 1547 Mexico was raised to an archbishopric,[1] but Zumárraga as its prelate enjoyed his elevation for a few days only, before he died on June 3, 1548. Meanwhile Las Casas had made his final visit to New Spain, and returned to Europe to print his famous tracts at Seville in 1552-53, and to work on his *Historia* up to 1561.[2]



MINING.*

It is to the credit of Luis de Velasco, the second viceroy, that he did what he could to carry out the royal commands for ameliorating the condition of the natives.[3] He saw in 1553 not only the capital city subjected to one of those great floods which occasionally devastated the town, but he witnessed also the more grateful manifestation of the founding of its University. He instituted attempts (1559), which only proved futile, to subjugate the natives of Florida;[1] but he was more successful in the Northwest, where new mining regions were acquired.

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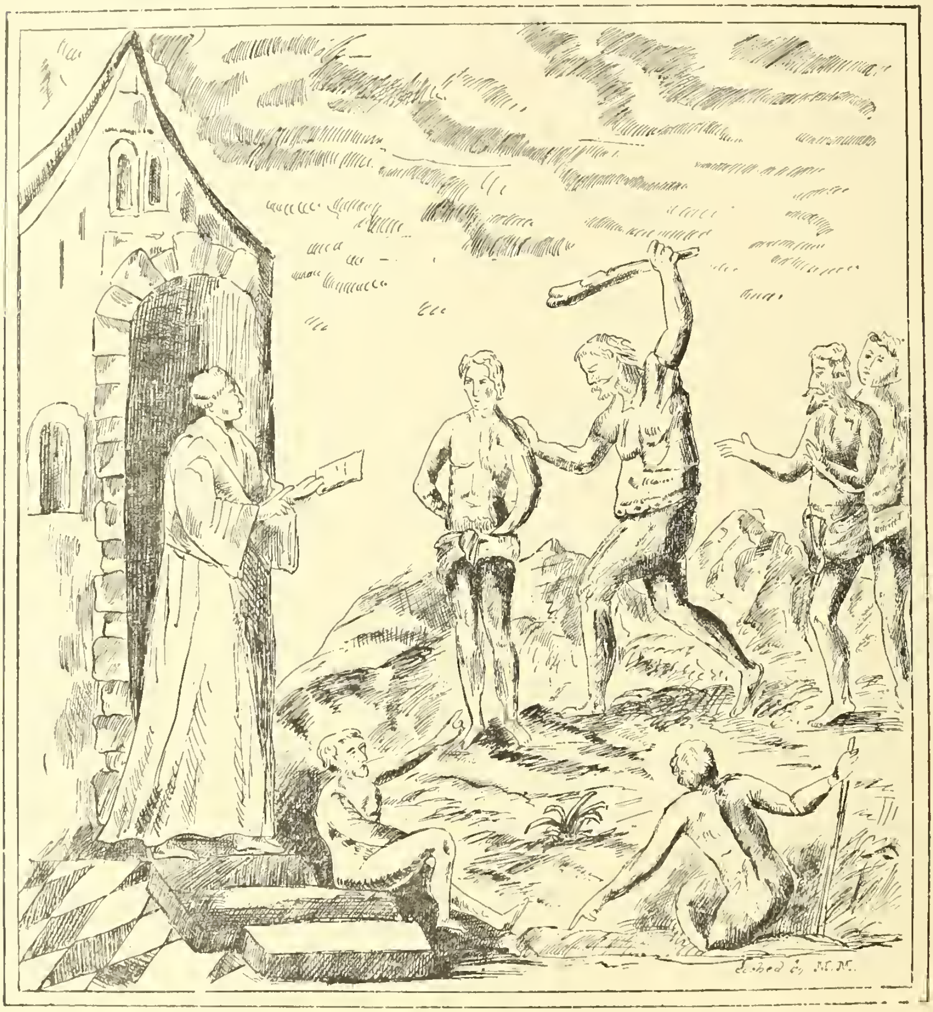
[1] There were at this time about 15,000 Spaniards in America, and the policy of excluding convicts was now begun.

[2] Cf. Vol. II. pp. 308, 333, 339.

[3] On the Indian treatment, 1550-60, see Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. ch. 27.

* From *Idæa vera et genuina* of De Bry's *Nona Pars* (Frankfort, 1602). Cf. on the Spanish mining, Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. ch. 28, on "Mines and Mining (1500-1800)," with bibliog., pp. 599-601; vi. ch. 1 (1800-1887); Helps' *Spanish Conquest*, iii. 140; and C. B. Dahlgren's *Historic mines of Mexico; a review of the mines of that republic for the past three centuries. Compiled from the works of Von Humboldt, Ward, Burkart*, etc. (New York, 1883).


Etched by M.M.

PUNISHMENT OF THE INDIANS FOR NOT ATTENDING CHURCH.*

Yucatan, which had been governed by the Audiencia up to 1562, was now disjoined from the central power, and Quijada, in 1562, began there his independent rule, and his successors continued it through periods of somewhat monotonous dissensions.[2]

The next year (1563) Martin Cortés, now thirty years old, the son of the conqueror, came from Spain, and with the renown of his name and the lavishness of his mode of living he soon caused Velasquez, then in power, to feel that there was a dangerous rival near the vice-regal throne. Some daring and ambitious spirits tried to use this natural prestige of Cortés to make head for a conspiracy which aimed to make Cortés king. There is no evidence that the visitor favored it, and when the betrayed leaders were executed he was only spared to be given to torture and to years of suspicions and fines.[1]

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 258.

[2] For Yucatan events see Bancroft's *Mexico*, ii. 650, and citations; iii. (1601–1708), ch. 8; v. 83–85.

* Champlain's drawing as reproduced in his *Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (London, 1859).

BURNING INDIANS.*

By 1568 the viceroys of New Spain began to find that how to meet the maritime rapine from the European enemies of Spain was a problem not the least difficult of those which confronted them. In September of that year, John Hawkins with nine ships captured the castle of San Juan de Uluá, and then had wit enough to escape fairly well from the toils of treachery in which he was soon involved. A few years later (1572), Drake plundered here and there along the Gulf coast; in 1578 he appeared on the Pacific coast, and in 1586 he burned Saint Augustine in Florida;[1] while both the French and English marauders of the sea gave the shore people little quiet for the rest of the century. Floods, the fearful scourge of disease, and the introduction of the Inquisition, added other horrors to the time. Archbishop Montúfar had regularly established in Mexico the scru-

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[1] Orozco y Berra's *Noticia histórica de la conjuracion del Marquès del Valle 1565–68* (Mexico, 1853) is the main dependence for this conspiracy. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 635.

* Champlain's drawing as reproduced in his *Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (London, 1859).

SIR JOHN HAWKINS.*

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[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. II. 453; III. 64. De Bry's Drake's Attack on St. Augustine is reproduced in the Coquina edition of C. B. Reynolds' *Old St. Augustine*.

* After a plate in Holland's *Herologia Anglica*, 1620.

tiny of the Inquisition in 1571, the year before he died, when he was succeeded by Bishop Landa of Yucatan, who had used its terrors against the heathen of Yucatan as early as 1562, and was now, in 1574, to institute the earliest *auto da fé* in Mexico.[1]

It was not long before the devastations of the marauding fleets of rival nations endangered the free passage of the rich trading ships that plied between Acapulco and Manilla, and the treasure vessels that bore revenue from the Gulf ports to Spain. In 1581 it had become necessary to give these carriers of bullion a convoy of war-ships. In 1584, Francisco de Gali, seeking to avail of the Japanese current and of the trade-winds [2] in coming from the Asiatic ports, had turned to the north, and first sighted the Cali-

ACAPULCO.*

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[1] On church government in Mexico, 1550–1600 see Bancroft's *Mexico*, ii. ch. 31; on the religious orders, ch. 32. The Franciscans had come in 1524, the Dominicans in 1526; but not till 1572 the Jesuits, in 1585 the Carmelites, and in 1589 the Benedictines.

[2] The dictionaries seem to err in deriving the meaning of trade-wind from their availability for commerce. The early navigators (Hakluyt, ed. 1600, iii. 849; Dampier's *Voyages*, Lond., 1705, ii. pt. 3, pp. 1, 2) used the phrase "to blow trade," which meant to blow in a fixed path (*Professor William M. Davis*).

* From Hulsius, *Sammlung*, xvii, being the *Reiss und Schiffart* of Spilbergen (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1620). Cf. also Spilbergen's *Speculum* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1619), and the *Journal van de Nassausche Vloot* (Amsterdam, 1626). In the next century we find plans in Ottens' *Grand théâtre de la guerre en Amérique* (Amsterdam, 1717); in Anson's *Voyages* (reproduced herewith); a later Spanish survey in 1791, published by the British Admiralty in 1818; and later ones, enumerated by Uricoechea.

A view of the port from Montanus is given *ante*, II. 394, and modern travels will furnish later aspects, like J. R. Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*, vol. i.

fornia coast under 37° 30′; then he coasted south to Acapulco.[1] This brought to mind the prevailing unacquaintance with a coast so neighboring, and the desirability of availing of any harbors it might have, into which the hunted merchantman could slip to avoid hostile ships, and from which the enemy could be watched. The career of Cavendish on the coast soon made such harbors a necessity,[2] and the forced loans imposed upon New Spain for the benefit of the mother country rendered the protection of its trade essential to the meeting of such exactions. Whatever the more northerly parts of the interior country could yield was thus made worth the seeking, and the regions which Coronado had traversed, and which had been forgotten for nearly forty years, were threaded by the expeditions of Ibarra, Oñate, and others,[3] from the south, and by that of Governor Diego de Peñalosa, marching east from Santa Fé, as is claimed by some.[4]

The voyage of Viscaino in 1602 had given new knowledge of the northern coast region;[5] and the intermittent presence of hostile fleets served to keep the attention of the authorities of New Spain intent on their maritime interests. The Dutchman Spilbergen was raiding here in 1614, and ten years later, and in the years following, the Dutch admirals, to distract the attention of Spain while the patriots of Holland were struggling for their independence, hovered here and on the Gulf coast with their fleets; damaging towns, intercepting Spanish ships, and sometimes making a great capture, as when Admiral Heyn captured the silver fleet near Matanzas, Cuba, in 1628.[6] When war was declared between Spain and France in 1633, it was no small misfortune for the province that its taxes were increased to help Philip IV carry on his campaigns, at the time when the French cruisers were rendering it more difficult to convey treasure and products across the sea.

Internally, at this time, the condition of New Spain was not encouraging, though time and circumstance had forced upon its rulers a more humane policy toward the natives. There was enough oppression still to make the Indians join the negroes in occasional revolts. The capital city, if not occupied with the commotions of the remoter districts, found that successive inundations rendered the question of some relief by engineering works imperative, to quiet the growing feeling that it might be necessary to abandon the lake region and build a new capital on higher ground. Works were

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[1] Cf. II. pp. 455, 462.

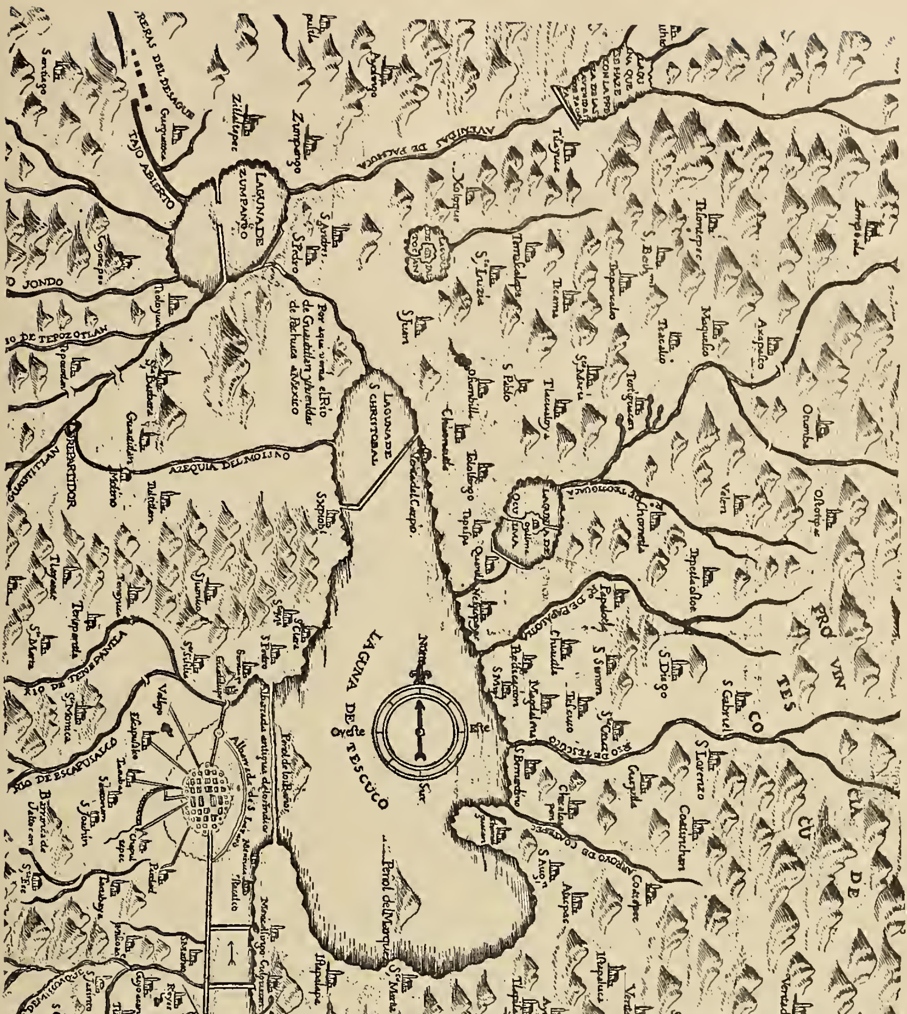
[2] Cf. Vol. III. p. 84; also Bancroft's *Mexico*, ii. ch. 33, and references, p 745. On the voyages up the coast, 1540–1600, see *North Mexican States*, ch. 6; and Vol. II. of the present work.

[3] Cf. Bancroft, *North Mex. States*, i. ch. 14, and *New Mexico and Arizona*, — the latter not yet to be availed of, because at present unpublished.

[4] On the connection of this expedition with La Salle's expedition to Texas, see *ante*, Vol. IV. Cf. *North Mexican States*, i. 386, 393, 396, 399.

[5] See, on the cartography of this coast during this period, *ante*, Vol. II. p. 457, etc.; and on Viscaino, p. 460. Cf. *North Mex. States*, i. ch. 7, on maritime explorations, 1601–1636.

[6] This capture occasioned a large number of congratulatory pamphlets. Cf. Muller's *Catal.* (1872), nos. 938, etc., and Asher's *Bibliog. and Hist. Essay on the Dutch books* (Amsterdam, 1854–67). A medal in commemoration is described in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 296.



VALLEY OF MEXICO, 1748.*

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* This is the main portion, reduced, of the map in Joseph Francisco de Cuevas' *Mexico y su Valle* (Mexico, 1748), made by Carlos de Siguenza. The cartography of Mexico, city, lakes, and valley, has been elsewhere sketched (*ante*, I. 143; II. 375, 378). The maps and supposed topography of the time of the Conquest has been represented in the map of Cortes (*ante*, II. 364), and the compiled sketch of Helps (II. 369). Other of the views of its relations to the lakes in the sixteenth century may be seen in the sketch in Bordone's *Isolario*, 1547 (lib. i. p. x), and in Ramusio (reproduced, *ante*, II. 379). There is a "Pourtrait et Description de la

begun to drain the encroaching waters in 1607.[1] The increase of wealth brought its natural evils, — pernicious luxury in the upper, and vice in the lower classes. Robbers infested the highways. Amid it all, there had

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[1] Again, in 1627 and 1629, new efforts at engineering were made. Large numbers of people perished in these inundations, and those that fled from the city swelled the populations of Puebla and other places. See Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 96, for references.

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grande Cité de Temistitan, ou Tenuctatlan, ou selon aucuns Messico ou Mexico," measuring 6½ inches square, in Antonio Du Pinet's *Plantes, Pourtraites et Descriptions de plusieurs Villes et Forteresses tant de l'Europe, Asie et Afrique, que des Indes et terres neuves* (Lyon, 1564).

A relic of the engineering efforts to save the city from inundation exists in maps of a Dutch engineer, much in its service from 1613 to 1640 (Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 10, 86). A sketch of the valley by Boot exists in manuscript in Harvard College library, *Regionis circa lacum Mexicanum descriptio ab Adriano Boot*, and is reproduced further on. There is much information, with plans of the various efforts to drain the valley of Mexico, in the *Boletin* of the Instituto Nacional de Geografía (Mexico, 1852, etc.).

There is a map in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*, p. 607.

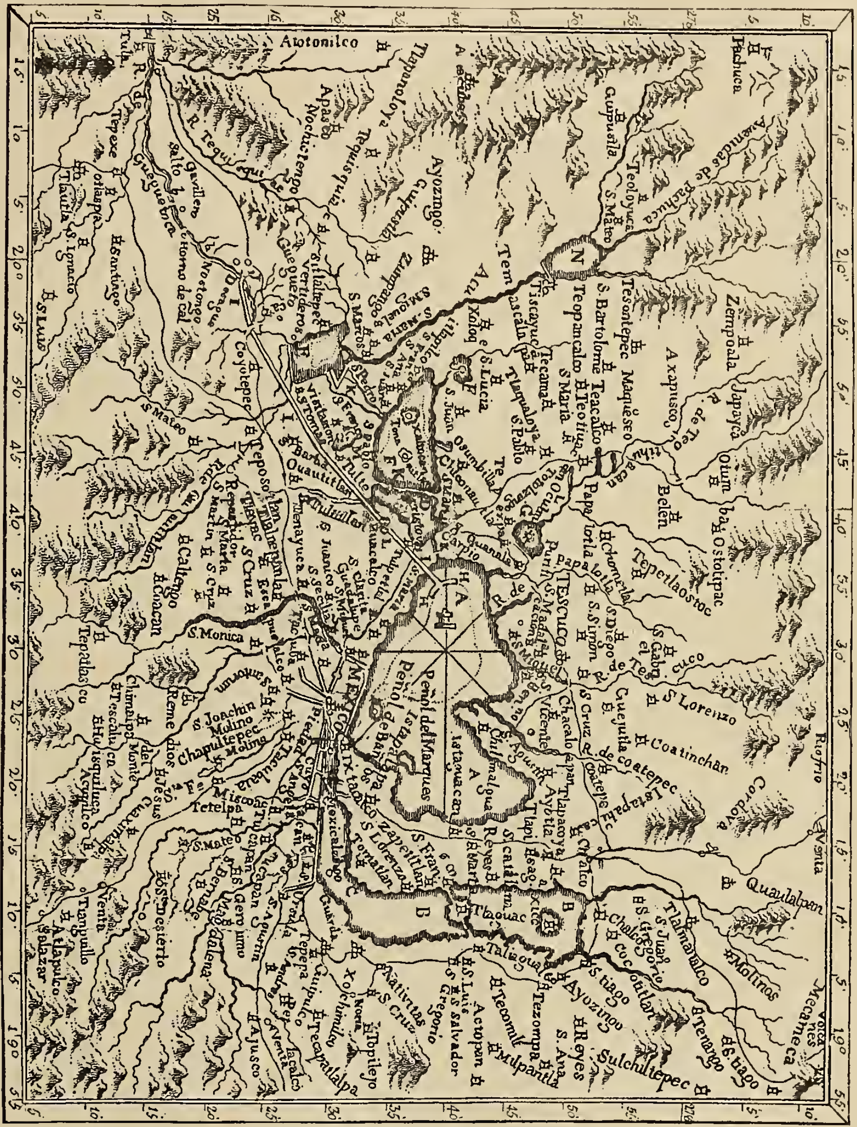
Of the maps of the eighteenth century, we have a common map, given elsewhere, from the *Coreal* of 1722 (*ante*, I. 145), which continued to be copied for many years, and will be found with little change in Johann Friedrich Schröter's *Algemeine Geschichte der Länder und Völker von America* (Halle, 1753), vol. ii., in Prévost's *Voyages* (xii. 325), and in the German *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, 1755; but still another map is also found in these same works (respectively xii. 441, and xiii. no. 15). The map of Cuevas, of about the same time (1748), is given herewith. The map of New Spain given in Robertson's *America* (1773) is by Kitchin, and it has a marginal map of the city of the usual type. Later we find a good plan of the city in Chappe d'Autoroche's *Voyage to California to observe the Transit of Venus* (London, 1778). An attempt seems to have been made to make some considerable advance on all these efforts in the maps which Tomas Lopez was instrumental in making known or devising in 1783–85. One of them is a large map in four sheets, *Plano geométrico de la imperial, noble y leal ciudad de Mexico, por Don Ignacio de Castera, año de 1776. Dale á luz Don Tomas Lopez, año de 1785.* The other is a *Mapa de las lagunas que circundan à Mexico por D. Tomas Lopez*, which was prepared for the history of Solis. There is a *Mapa de las cercanas de México por D. Juan Lopez, 1785.* Uricoechea (*Mapoteca Colombiana*, Londres, 1860) does not note this, but he gives *A Plan of the City of Mexico by Lt. Col. Count Diego Garcia, 1793.* (Cf. a French ed., 1824, and that in Bullock's *Six Months in Mexico*, London, 1825, 2d ed.) A *Calendario* map of 1800 is given herewith. A decided improvement appeared in the *Neue Charte des Thales von Mexico*, based by Jablo Oelmans on the surveys of Louis Martin in 1804, and of Joaquin Velasquez in 1807, and upon the astronomical observations of Humboldt, which was published at Weimar (1810, 1814, etc.), of which a portion is given herewith from the English edition. Arrowsmith also included it in his *New Map of Mexico* (Lond., 1810).

The war with the United States (1840) caused new surveys by the American engineers Lieut. M. L. Smith and Captain Hardcastle. Cf. *U. S. Senate Ex. Doc., 30th Cong., 2d session, i. no. 19, and 31st Cong., 1st session, vi. no. 11*, and reproduction in Brantz Mayer's *Mexico, Aztec, etc.*, ch. xiii.; and the map reproduced *ante*, II. p. 374. In 1862 the French engineers made a new study of the valley, during Maximilian's career, and their map is shown *ante*, II. 375. Cf. the map showing the relations of the town to the present lakes given in W. H. Bishop's *Old Mexico and her lost provinces* (N. Y., 1883).

An early view of Mexico from Montanus is given *ante*, II. 377. The views of the eighteenth century generally puzzle one to reconcile them with the descriptions which we have. Cf. that in Hermann Moll's *West Indies*; that in Schröter's *Alg. Gesch. von America* (Halle, 1753), ii. 16. Supposable views of what the town was before the Conquest and after it was rebuilt are in some of the chief descriptive geographical repositories of this period, as in Prévost's *Voyages*, and the German corresponding *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (Leipzig, 1755, vol. xiii.). They do not convince one of their genuineness. Of the later town there are more trustworthy views, and such appear frequently in books of travel, like Ward's, Bullock's, etc.

We must look in Ortelius, De Bry, and Herrera for the principal maps of New Spain in the sixteenth century (*ante*, II. pp. 359, 392, 472). By the middle of the seventeenth century we begin to have the maps of Sanson, Blaeuw, and then come those of Coronelli; and for the beginning of the eighteenth century we have De Fer, Delisle, and Homann. The map of the bishoprics which Joseph Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez constructed in 1768 is given in Lorenzana's *Cortes*, and is reproduced *ante*, II. p. 408. Maps by D'Anville and Tomas Lopez were the other most important ones of that century. With those of Arrowsmith (London, 1810), Humboldt (Paris, 1811), and Delamarche a new series begins, and later come the maps of Tardieu, Brué, Dufour, Ward (1827, who complains in his *Mexico in 1827* that few places have had their latitude and longitude definitely settled), Mariano Torrente (in his *Revolucion Hispano-Americana*, Madrid, 1830), — not to name later ones. Cf. Uricoechea, under Mexico, nos. 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 33, 36, 52, 53, 56, 71, 74, 78, 79, 96, 104, 113, 116, 138, 175, 203.

come an issue between the Viceroy Gelves and the archbishop, and the secular ruler (1624) had gone to the wall.[1] Not so easy a matter was it for the prelate to deal with the Jesuits, who, despite their adversaries, grew in numbers, and labored and strove as Jesuits will.



MEXICO AND VICINITY, 1800.*

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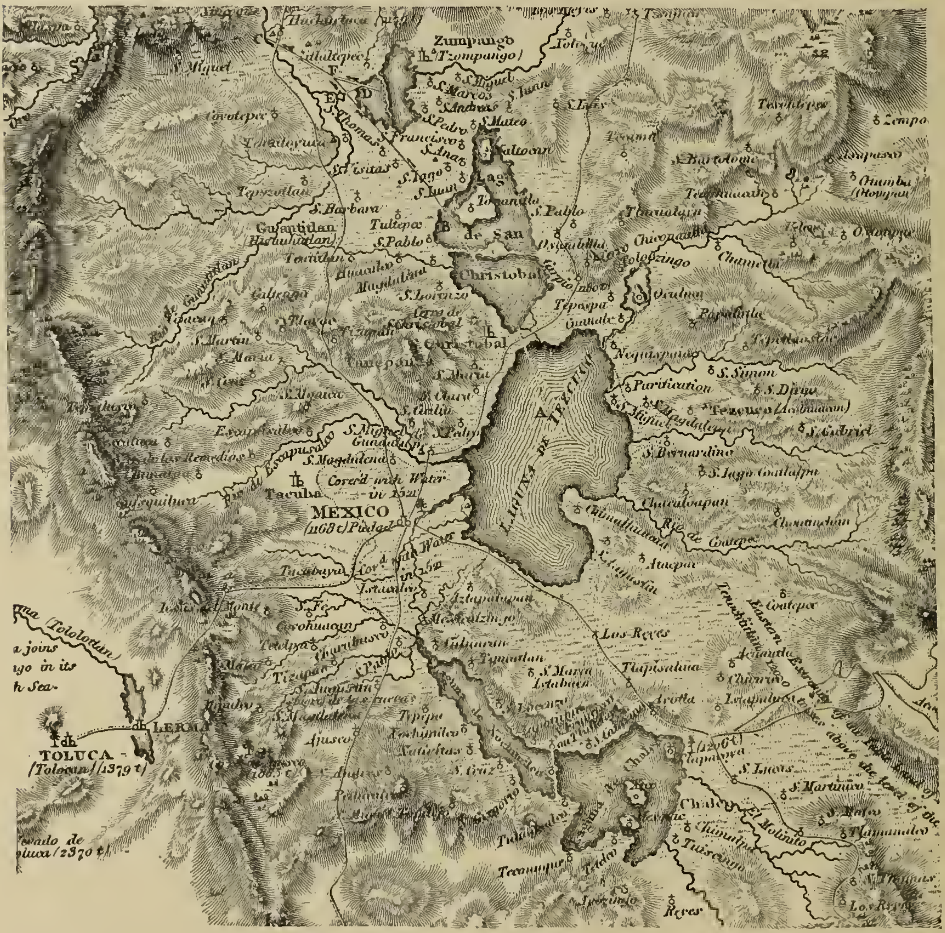
[1] *Mexico*, iii. 78, 79, for references.

* Reproduction of a map in the annual *Calendario Manual y Guia de forasteros en México para el año de 1800.*—KEY: A, Laguna de Tescuco. B, Idem Chalco. C, Idem de Xochimilco. D, Idem de San Christobal. E, Idem de Zumpango. F, Idem de Xalcocan. G, Idem de Oculma. H, Refuerzo para estrechar las aguas. I, Real Desague. J, Union del Desague con el Rio Gueguetoca. K, Comunicacion para el Desague de las Lagunas. L, Loma de los Abrojos. M, Idem de la Visitacion. N, Laguna.—Cf. maps in the British Museum noted in Calvo, *Rec. des Traités*, x. 368.

A serious obstruction to the shipment of treasure to Spain came in the capture of Jamaica by Cromwell's expedition in 1655, and the establishment there of a nest of English pirates; for an attempt (1657) of the Spaniards to drive the English out completely failed. So the buccaneers continued to ravage the Gulf coast; and even after a treaty with Spain in 1670, the governor of Jamaica, off and on, was suspected of giving clandestine aid to the marauders. In time, banding together irrespective of nationality, the freebooters controlled fleets and even armies. It was such a joint force —

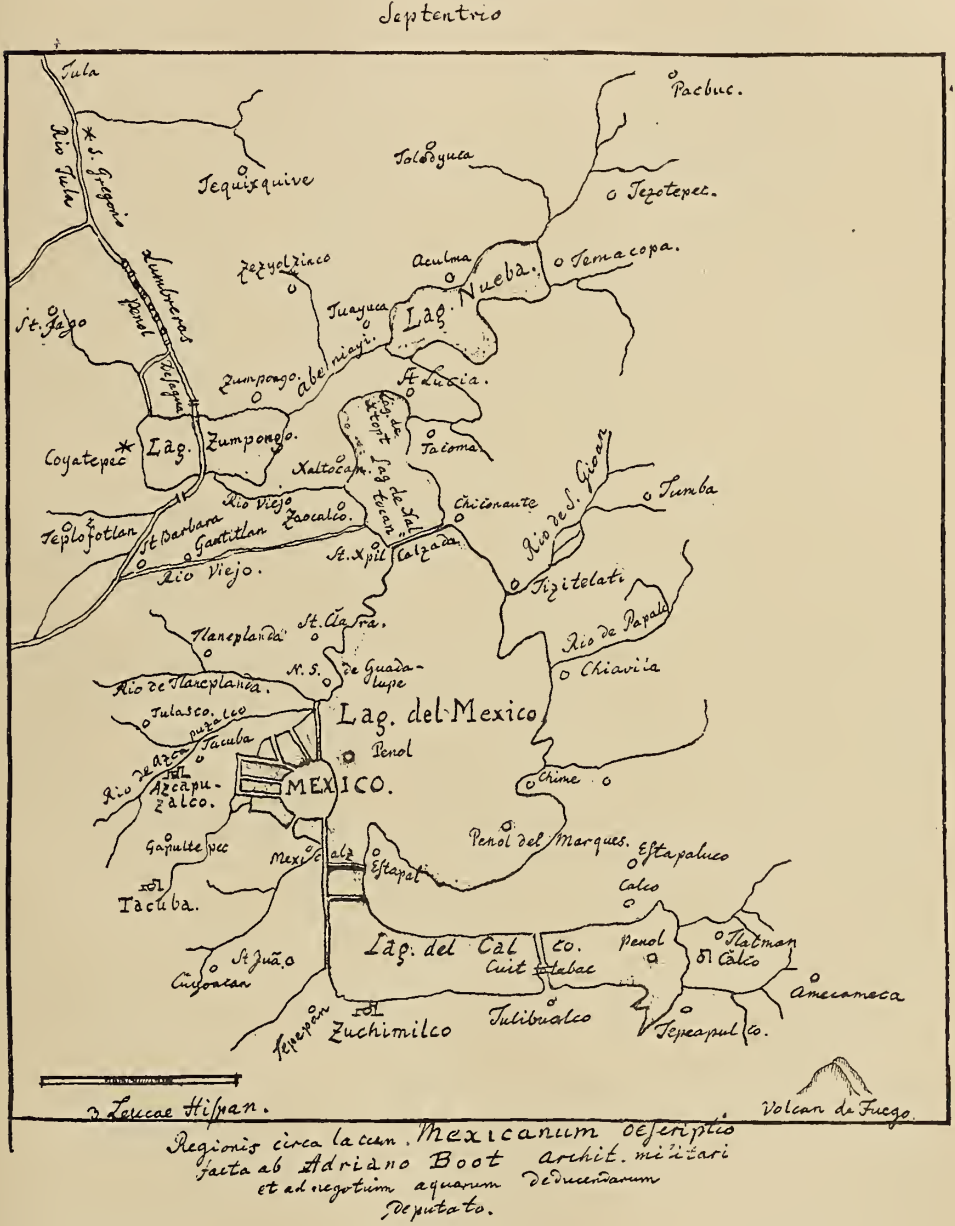


VALLEY OF MEXICO.*

* From the map in the English translation (Black's) of Humboldt's *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (London. 1822). The map "was sketched on the spot in 1804 by Don Louis Martin, and corrected in 1807 from the trigonometrical operations of Don Joaquin Velasquez, and the astronomical operations and barometrical measurements of Humboldt, by Jabbo Oltmanns."

KEY: "The canal of Huehuetoca conducts the waters of the Rio de Guantitlan by the Rio de Tula or Moctezuma and the Rio de Panuco to the Atlantic. The canals of Zumpango (D, F) and San Christobal (B, F, C) were added in 1796 and 1798. The small canal of Vertideros (D, E) serves to throw the Desague dry. The canals (A, B) were projected to remove the danger to which the City of Mexico is still exposed of inundations from the south and east" (Humboldt).

the soldiers under Van Horn and the seamen under Lorencillo — that by a ruse came before Vera Cruz in 1683, laid it under contribution, and put its people under torments to disclose the hiding-places of their treasures.[1]



ADRIANO BOOT.

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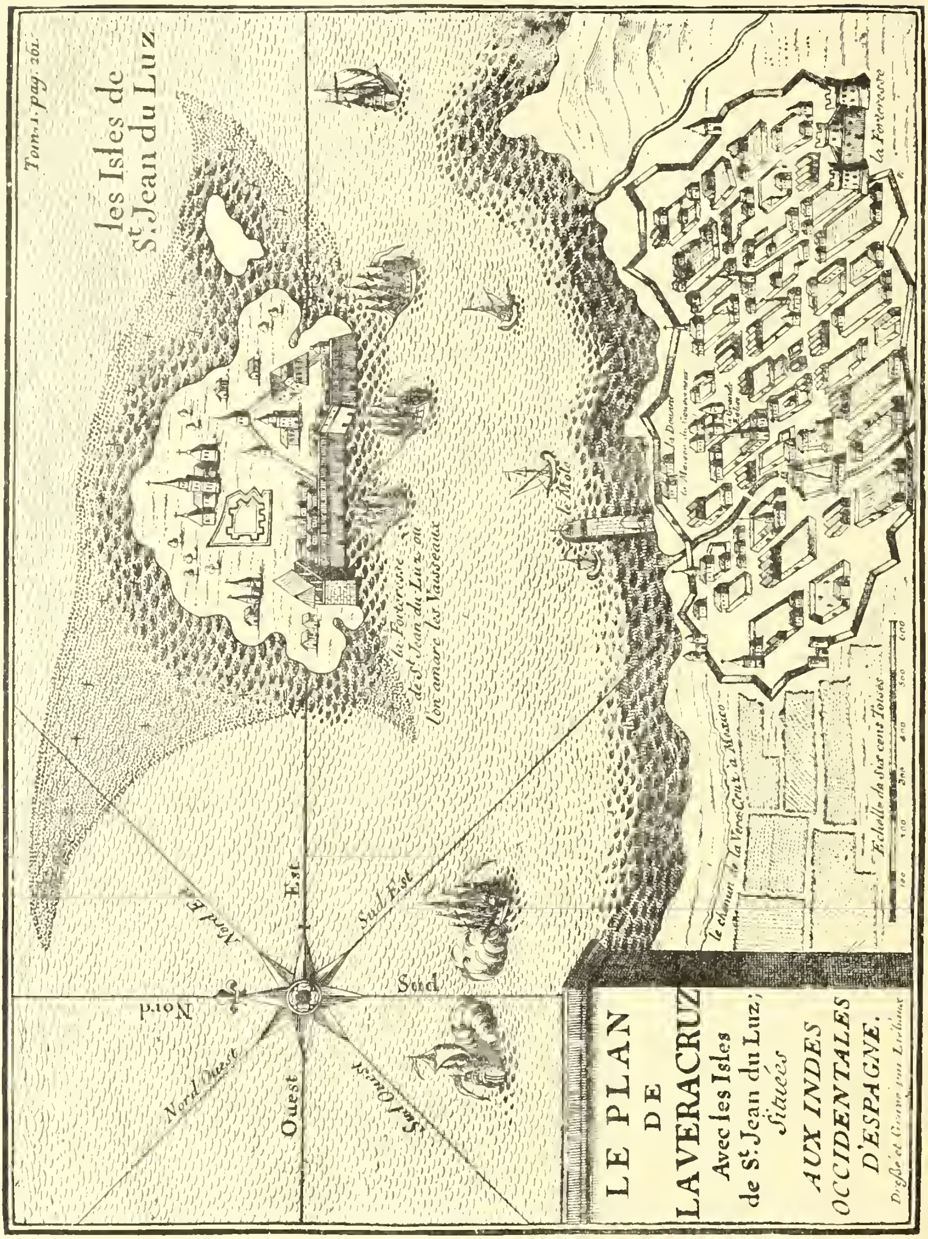
[1] The raids of the buccaneers brought Vera Cruz into prominence, and we find plans of the town and its fortifications early in the eighteenth century in the common war maps like Ottens' *Grand théâtre de la guerre en Amérique* (Amsterdam, 1717), and in current histories like Charlevoix's *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole* (Amsterdam, 1723; Paris, 1731), and the one (1744)


Tom. 1. pag. 261.
les Isles de St. Jean du Luz
la Fortresse de St. Jean du Luz ou l'on amare les Vaisseaux
le Mole
la Douane
la Maison du Gouverneur
la Forteresse
le chemin de la Vera Cruz à Mexico
Echelle de Six cent Toises
100 200 300 400 500 600
Nord Est
Est
Sud Est
Sud
Nord
Nord Ouest
Ouest
Sud Ouest
LE PLAN DE LA VERACRUZ Avec les Isles de St. Jean du Luz; Situées AUX INDES OCCIDENTALES D'ESPAGNE.
Dressé et Gravé par Liebaux

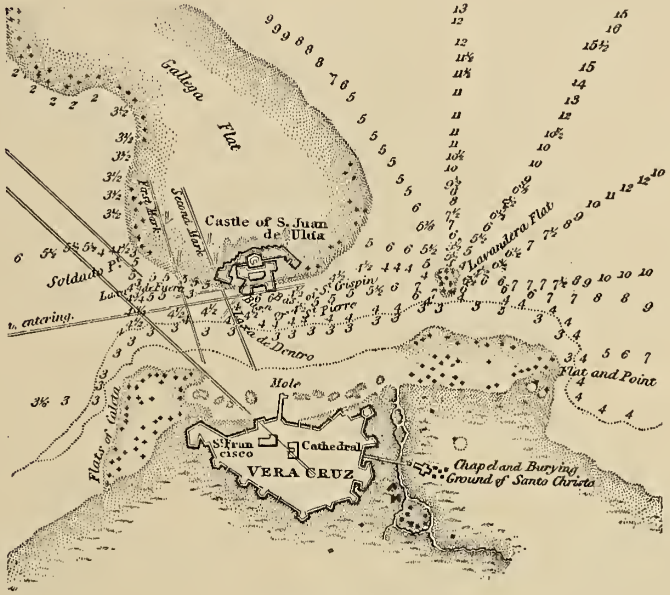
NOTE. — The above map is taken from one given in connection with the capture of the place by Van Horn, from Oexmelin's *Hist. des Avanturiers*, etc. (Trevoux, 1744), vol. i. Cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 193, 213.

herewith reproduced. D'Anville also included one in his series of maps; and others are in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1740, p. 242; in *A Geog. Description of the Coasts, etc., of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740); and in Jefferys' *Description of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762). The popular geographical collections also furnish maps, generally much the same, as in Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), xii.; the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (Leipzig, 1755), xiii. pl. 9; and the *Staat van America* (Amsterdam, 1760), i. 150, 156.

In 1786 we find one of a larger scale in Tomas Lopez's *Plano del Puerto de Vera Cruz*, and a few years later (l'an ix) another, published by the Marine in Paris. Uricoechea notes that of Ponzoni (Madrid, 1816), an English edition of

The French pirates had their rendezvous at San Domingo, and the viceroy sent a force (1689) to devastate the least inhabited parts of the island; and with a turn of fortune, which easily came in those days of many hazards, the English were found ready to join the Spaniards, in 1695, in an attack on the stronger posts of that island. It proved successful, and the best French forts were demolished.

Towards the end of the century, events in the north began to have new significance by the attempts of the Jesuits in Lower California to effect what force had already failed in, the pacification of the native tribes. This was brought about under the adroit management of Fathers Salvaterra and Kino. Meanwhile, the neighboring ocean was as much infested as ever with the audacious sea-rovers. Dampier was cruising there in 1686, and again in 1704. During his latter cruise, he tried, without much success, to capture the Acapulco galleons. A few years later (1709) Captain Woodes Rogers, sent on a cruise against the French and Spaniards in the Pacific, picked up Alexander Selkirk on Juan Fernandez; and, while he gave a



VERA CRUZ.*

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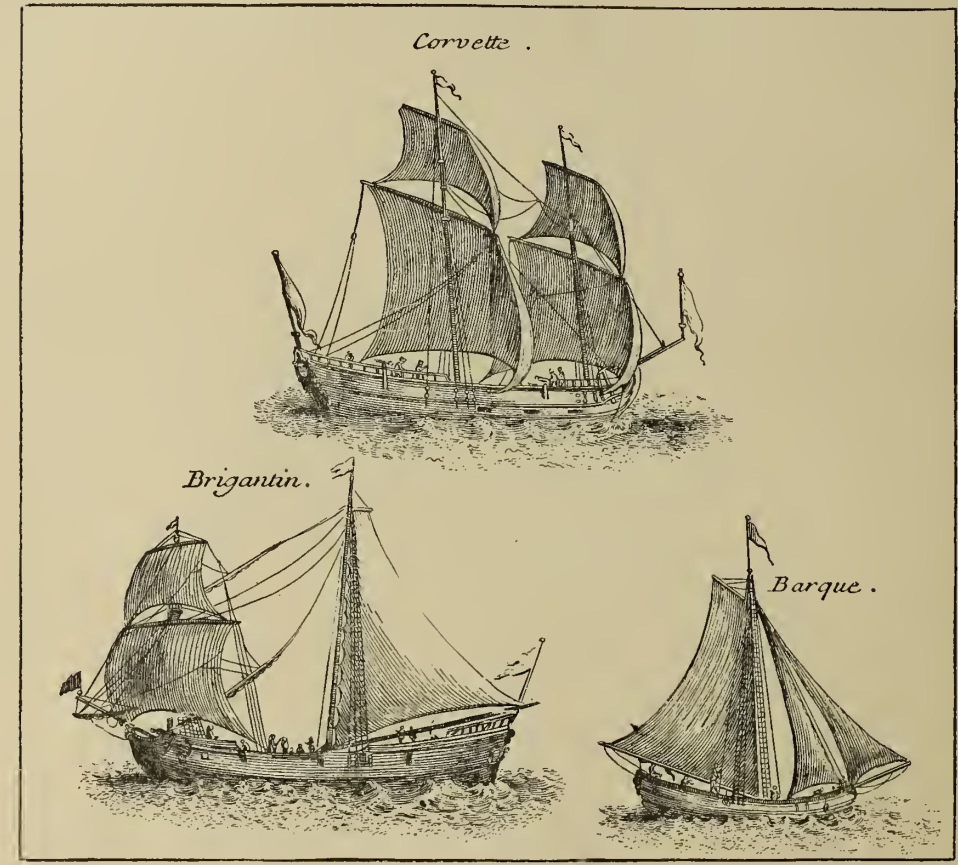
the official "Marine" map (London, 1838); one showing the attack of the French, Nov. 27, 1838, given in the *Annales Maritimes de 1839*, as well as the maps made by Vice-Admiral Baudin's orders, which were published by the Marine in 1841; and a map of the London hydrographical office, based on this French survey, and printed Spanish maps (London, 1847). Cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 193; v. 198.

* From the map in Black's English version of the *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, by Humboldt (London, 3d ed., 1822), vol. i. Cf. maps in the British Museum noted in Calvo, *Recueil des Traités*, x. 366.

character to De Foe and to posterity, he afforded the Bristol merchants, who fitted him out, what was far more to their purpose, good round dividends on their investment and encouragements to further ventures.[1]

When England and the Dutch had made it difficult for Spain to keep up intercourse with her American colonies, the Spanish government conferred upon France the privilege of supplying goods to her possessions in the Indies, with a result, from the great liberality of this foreign service, that would have weaned the Spanish colonies from any dependence on the mother country, if the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) had not brought relief to Spanish commerce. But out of a desire to propitiate England, Spain only substituted one danger for another when she yielded to the English merchants the right to trade at Porto Bello and to supply the colonies with negroes.[2] With true British vigor and with organized methods, the open-



WEST INDIA VESSELS OF THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.*

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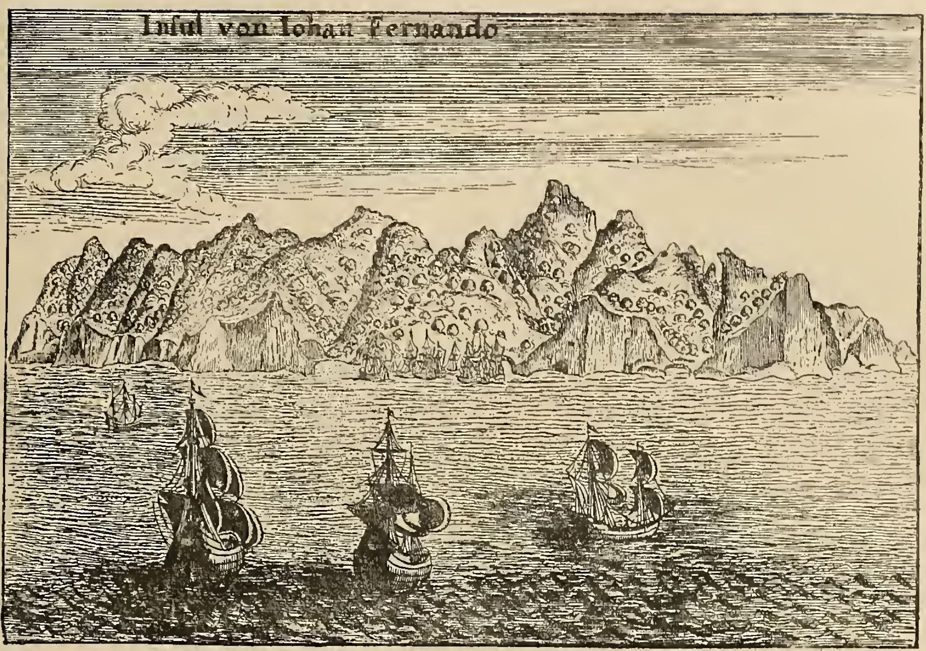
[1] Dampier, who had had bad luck, was content to take the subordinate post of pilot under Rogers in this cruise.

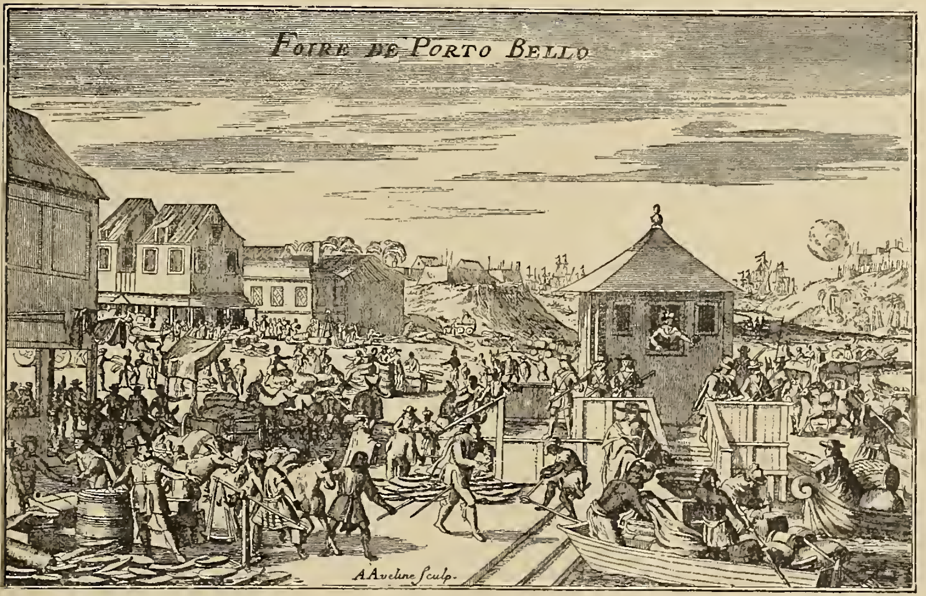
[2] The commercial literature of the time is replete with controversial pamphlets, growing out of this concession of Spain, which was held by

* From Labat's *Nouveau Voyage* (Paris, 1722), vol. ii.



JUAN FERNANDEZ.

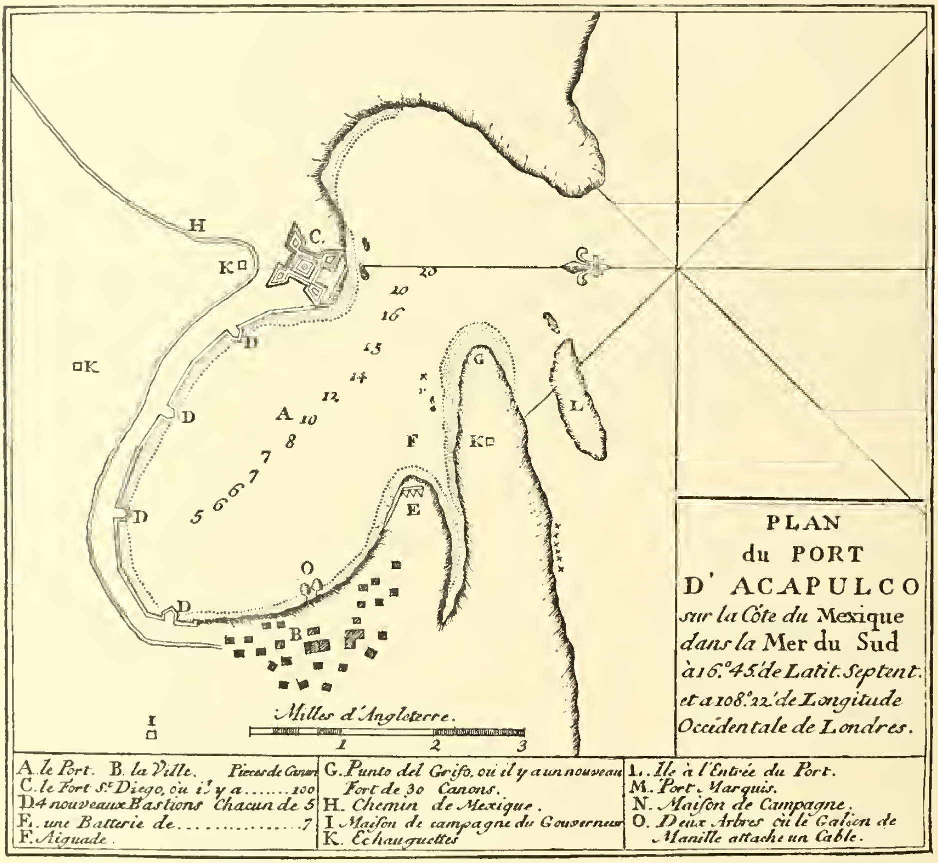
From Johann Ludwig Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt und Americanische Historien* (Franckfurt, 1655).



PORTO BELLO FAIR.

From Thomas Gage's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1720), vol. ii.

ing once made, little limit was put to the trade, which by clandestine plots and official connivance soon reached an extent far beyond the treaty provisions, so that the annual return to Spain by her own vessels was reduced to little more than the royal tax on silver. The armed attempts which the Spanish *guarda costas* made to prevent this usurpation of trade brought on collisions with the British mercantile marine,[1] that very naturally took on national importance and ended in a war[2] (1739), which resulted in Spain's


PLAN
du PORT
D' ACAPULCO
sur la Côte du Mexique
dans la Mer du Sud
à 16.° 45.' de Latit. Septent.
et a 108.° 22.' de Longitude
Occidentale de Londres.
Milles d'Angleterre.
1
2
3
A
B
C.
D
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5
A. le Port. B. la Ville. Pieces de Canon
C. le Fort S.t Diego, où il y a 100
D. 4 nouveaux Bastions Chacun de 5
E. une Batterie de 7
F. Aiguade.
G. Punto del Grifo, où il y a un nouveau Fort de 30 Canons.
H. Chemin de Mexique.
I. Maison de campagne du Gouverneur
K. Echauguettes
L. Ile à l'Entrée du Port.
M. Port Marquis.
N. Maison de Campagne.
O. Deux Arbres où le Galion de Manille attache un Cable.

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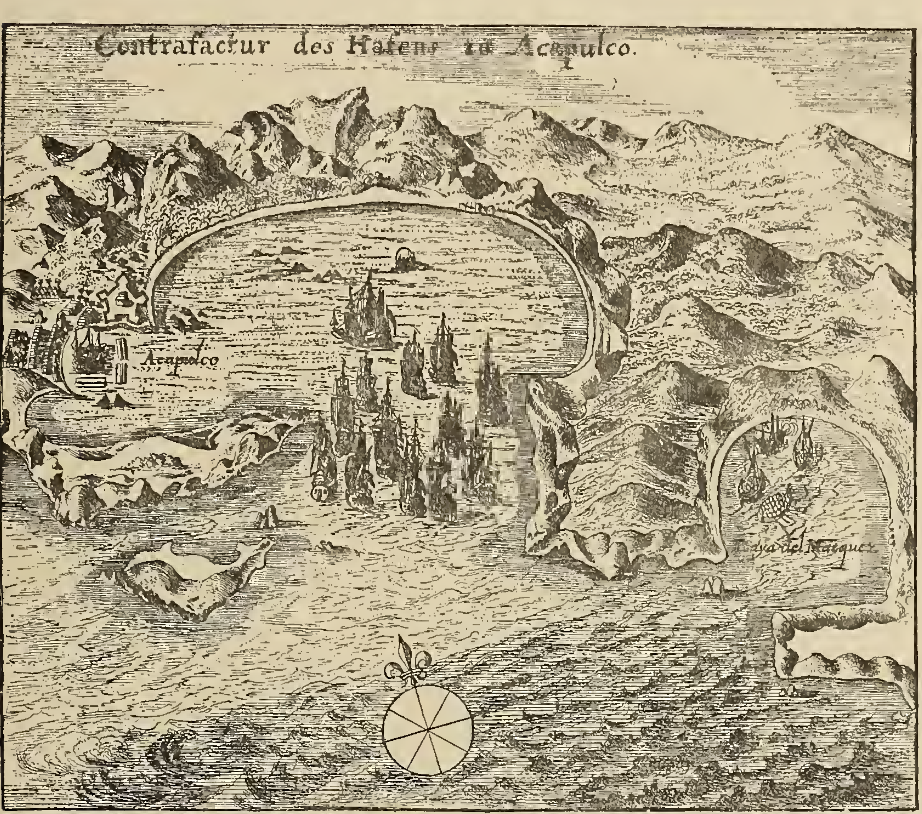
the merchants interested in the trade of Jamaica to be unjust to them. The *Carter-Brown Catalogue* indicates many of these, — iii. 175, 183, 189, 190, 191, 213, 406, 407, 408, etc. Particularly see, *The State of the Island of Jamaica, chiefly in relation to its Commerce and the Conduct of the Spaniards in the West Indies* (London, 1726); *Some Observations on the Assiento Trade as it has been exercised by the South Sea Company* (2d ed., London, 1728); *An Answer* [to the last] *by the Factors of the South Sea Company* (London, 1728); *A Defence of* [some] *Observations* (London, 1728). This Assiento treaty is given in *A Collection of Treaties*, 1648–1732 (London, 1710–32), in 4 vols. Cf. also Calvo, *Rec. des Traités*, ii. 5; and *Occasional papers on the Asiento and the affairs of Jamaica*, by William Wood (London, 1716). Dr. Charles Deane has succinctly traced the rise of the English connection with slavery in the West Indies in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1886, pp. 191–205.

[1] Cf. *Some Observations on Damages done by the Spaniards* (London, 1728); *A View of the Depredations and Ravages committed by the Spaniards* (London, 1731).

[2] It is curious to observe how, in refuting the

NOTE TO THE ABOVE MAP. — From the French edition, Genève, 1750, of Anson's *Voyage*, and appearing in all the editions. It is also given in Prévost's *Voyages* (1754), xii. 450.

recovering the rights of trade which she had before granted to England. Learning from experience the drawbacks of her annual fleets, she now allowed her own merchants so to ply their private trade with the colonies that foreign interlopers kept little of the advantage which the commercial dulness of Spain had made it easy for them to obtain in the past. This individual Spanish activity so rapidly increased that in 1748 the regular galleon trade came to an end.[1]


Contrafactur des Hafens zu Acapulco.
Acapulco
Playa del Marquez

From Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*, 1655, p. 597.

Spanish exclusive claims to the regions discovered by Columbus, the popular mind in England was pampered with the belief that these Spanish discoveries must yield to the rights established by the voyage of Madoc, the Welsh prince, as set forth in *The British Sailor's Discovery, or the Spaniards' Pretensions confuted* (London, 1739). Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. ch. 2.

[1] The *galleon* and *flota* service had been up to about 1720 regularly carried on from Cadiz, but at that date it was transferred to another port. The routes of these Spanish fleets are explained on many of the maps which were issued during the early years of the eighteenth century. On Hermann Moll's *Map of the West Indies*, dedicated to William Paterson, and appearing about 1700, the fleets are tracked as entering the enclosed sea by way of Trinidad, and while the flota proceeded direct to Vera Cruz, the galleon stopped awhile on the coast of New Grenada, so that expresses could be sent overland to Cartagena, Lima, and Panama, "to hasten the king's treasure." Thence they are shown to proceed to Cartagena, where they stay 60 days, and thence go to Porto Bello, where they remain 30 days, while a fair or mart was held, and then they return to Cartagena. The flota from Vera Cruz and the galleons now rendezvous at Havana, whence in company they start, by way of the Bahama channel, for Spain. These legends are repeated on the *New Map of the West Indies*, by N. Vischer (Amsterdam); on Covens and Mortier's *Archipe-*

Events like these, and other reasons, rendered the more settled occupation of these Upper Pacific coast regions desirable for the aggrandizement of Spanish trade. There were wild Indians in Nueva Galicia still to be brought under subjection, and the conquest of Nayarit occurred in the early years of the eighteenth century. The expansion of the mission system was preparing the way for more active and secular interests.

As the years went on, new names among the Pacific corsairs were repeated with terror along the coast. In 1742 Captain George Anson appeared off Acapulco, and failing to intercept the freighted galleons there, he stretched his course towards the Asiatic islands, and made up in success on that coast for his failure on the other.

GEORGE ANSON (1697–1761).*

The work of the Jesuits after a while was brought to an end, during the rule of Archbishop Lorenzana, by their final expulsion in 1767, under an order of Cárlos III, which drove them out of all his dominions, — a procedure carried out, in Mexico and elsewhere, cruelly, despite the will of Pope Clement XIII. The execution of this order brought renewed attention to the Jesuits' missions in Sonora and California, which now became the field of the Franciscans and Dominicans. The occupation of Upper California was at this time pushed with something like business persistency, the settlements first beginning just above the peninsula at San Diego, to which the parties of occupation went by sea and land. Thence expeditionary companies were started up in 1769 to Monterey and to San Francisco Bay, then just discovered.[1] In the succeeding years town after town was founded, San Carlos, San Antonio, San Gabriel, and the rest, where the mission stations were made the centres of interest.

These first towns had but the slightest accompaniments of agriculture, though their supply of live-stock flourished and increased. In 1773 the region of Upper California had become important enough to be parcelled out into presidios. Then immigrants began to flock in. There were among them missionaries, of course, and foremost ; but there were not wanting store-

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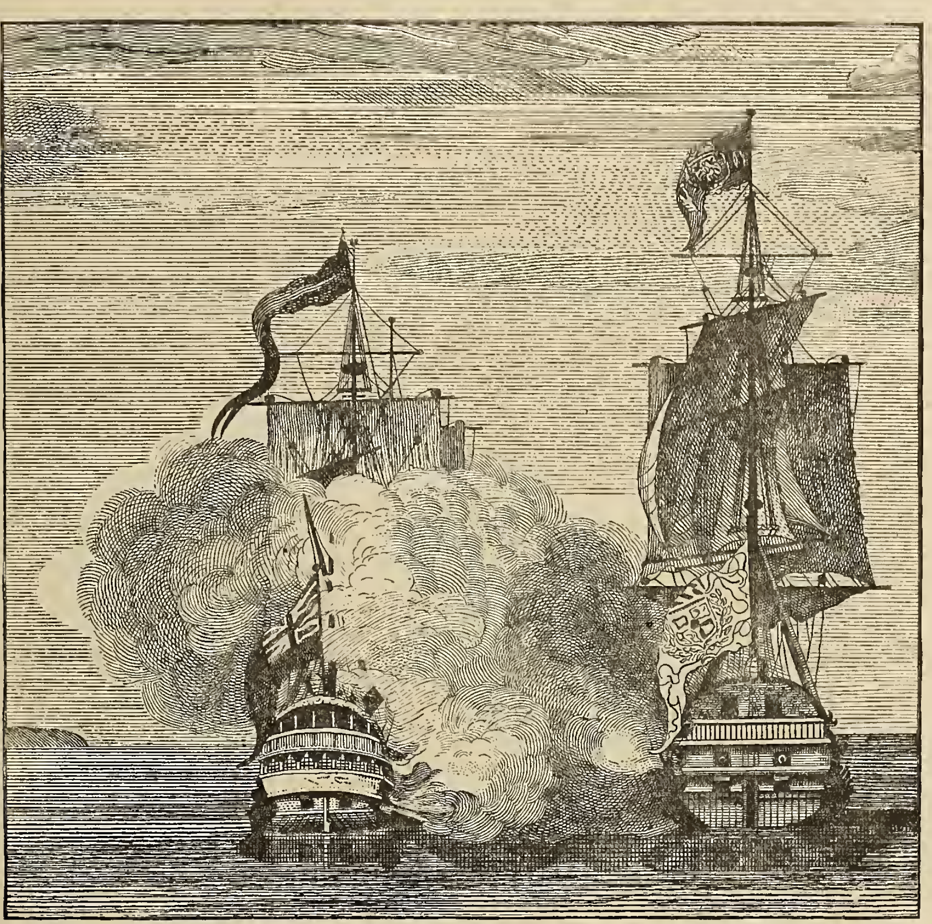
laque du Méxique ; and on Ottens' *Nova Isthmi Americani tabula* (Amsterdam, 1717). Cf., on this traffic, Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations* (ii. ch. 2) ; and on the ocean route of the trading ships, Brevoort's *Verrazano*, p. 101.

[1] Cf. John T. Doyle in *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, October, 1873, p. 110.

* After a print in the *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden*, July, 1805.

keepers, blacksmiths, and other representatives of a permanent civil life.[1] The chief apprehension came from the reports of Russian approaches down the coast from Alaska,[2] and it was not long before a supply ship was sent up the coast to discover how impending the danger was. In 1775 other vessels went north from San Blas, and it was now, as Bancroft holds, that the exploring parties transferred the name of San Francisco from the little bay under Point Reyes to the magnificent expanse within the Golden Gate.[3] At the same time and later, other expeditions, overland and by way of the Colorado, accompanied by animals, and provided with weapons and with the



CAPTURE OF A GALLEON.*

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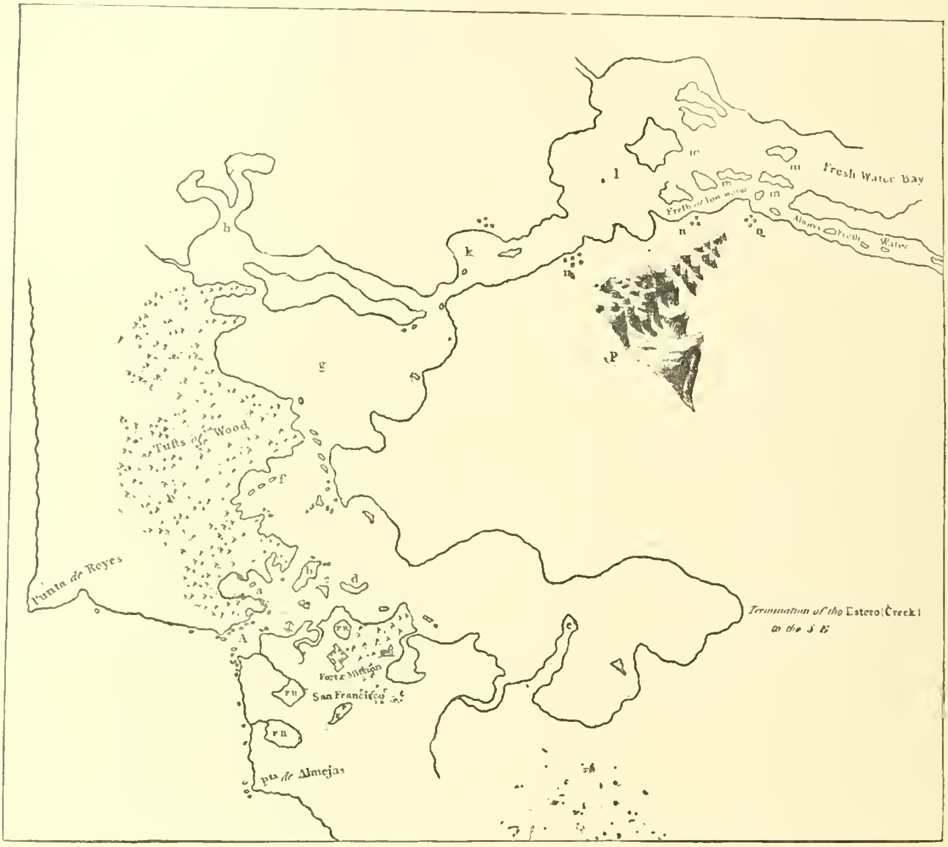
[1] *California*, i. ch. 9, 10. Father Serra, who was one of the leading spirits in these days, left descriptive notes, which Bancroft uses.

[2] The *London Mag.*, 1764, gives a map of the Russian exploration as then understood in western Europe.

[3] It was now that Lieut. Ayala explored the bay by water and that Rivera continued his land explorations of the previous year.

* From the plate (*Voyage par Geo. Anson*, Genève, 1750) which appears in all the editions, showing the taking of the galleon "Nuestra Senora de Cabadonga" by the "Centurion." See cut of a galleon, *ante*, II. p. 456.

conveniences of family life, were conducted by Anza, Font, and Garcés. Bancroft gives a map[1] showing the routes of these earliest wanderers along the bay and over the peninsula of San Francisco, where in 1776-77 the presidio and mission of that name were founded. Other settlements and presidios were established within the next few years, — Los Angeles, Santa



PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO.*

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[1] *California*, i. 281.

* From a Spanish MS. as given in the English translation of Miguel Costanso's *Historical Journal* (London, 1790). — KEY: *A*, Entrance of the famous port. *a*, Bay Carmelita. *b*, Ysla de los Angeles. *c*, White Island. *d*, Ya. de Mal Abrigo. *e*, S. Juan Capistrano. *f*, Bay of na. sa. la Maniera. *g*, Round Bay, or Guadalupe. *h*, Estero de las mercedes. *k*, Bay of Asumpta. *l*, Junction of the various mouths of the river. *m*, Channel of the river. *n*, Rancherias of the Indians dealing in fish and tobacco. *p*, Mountain of S. Juan Bautista. Cf. the plans and map in Bancroft's *California*, i. pp. 695, 699, 703. The maritime explorations of the Pacific coast are traced in Vol. II., *ante*. The cartographical ideas of the upper coast at this time (1770) are seen in the map engraved by Tomas Lopez, and published at Madrid in 1771, which is reproduced in Wm. Reveley's English version of Miguel Costanso's *Hist. Journal of the expeditions by sea and land to the north of California in 1768-70* (London, 1790). Some years later La Perouse, in his maps of the coast and of San Francisco Bay, seems to have used Spanish originals. (Cf. Bancroft, *California*, i. 434, 475.) Cf. Palou's map, 1787, in *Ibid.* 407. Mr. John T. Doyle, in a communication printed in the *American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, April, 1889, questions the accuracy of Bancroft's statement (*California*, i. 157) when that writer claims, through an assistant, to have first given publicity (in the *Overland Monthly*, June, 1874) to the evidence of the discovery of the bay of San Francisco in 1769, Mr. Doyle asserting on the contrary that he first announced the proofs from Crespi's diary, and drew Mr. Bancroft's attention to them in August, 1870.

Barbara, and some others, — and the instituting of pueblos became a settled policy.

But the possible value of the upper coast was never distant from the thoughts of these pioneers of California. The publication of the accounts of the voyage of Cook had already opened (1778–79) the Spanish eyes to the importance of the fur trade. In 1789 they had got word of Captain Kendrick in the "Columbia" as on the coast two years earlier, and it seemed to be the belief that this Boston ship[1] somehow belonged to General Washington, and that it was worth their while to catch her; but the Columbia River was too far north for a chance conflict,[2] and so nothing came to pass to array the Americans thus early against the Spanish pretensions. Not so, however, with the British, who were now taking measures to occupy Nootka. Accordingly Martinez was sent up with a naval force to possess the place; but the complications which arose were soon settled by the convention entered into with Spain, by which this latter country relinquished her exclusive rights, though the Spaniards kept up trading relations with Nootka Sound for five years.[3] There followed many friendly salutations with the English. The Spanish frigates "Sutil" and "Mexicana" were sent to map out the Straits of Fuca, and did so (1792) in com-

THE RUINS OF SAN CARLOS.*

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[1] Cf. *ante*, II. p. 470.

[2] *California*, i. 445

[3] Cf. *ante*, VII. p. 555.

* A cut in the *Century Magazine*, May, 1883, p 13. Cf. *Tour du Monde*, 1876, i. 113 (in connection with a translation of Hepworth Dixon's *White Conquest*).

pany with the ships of Vancouver, who later came down the coast and paid a friendly visit to the bay of San Francisco, noting its poor preparations for defence. Vancouver was on the California coast three times between 1792 and 1794.[1] His visit was not without its promptings, and measures were at once taken to strengthen the coast defences; and there was all the more need of it as the outcome of the French Revolution might involve no one knew what necessities.

FATHER JUNIPERO SERRA.*

The history of the California region during the next twelve or fifteen years was one of the progress of missions, of explorations inland, and of fear of the Russians. This people and the Spaniards first met in California in 1806. The Russians had been lured south in search of the otter, and they had taken them even in San Francisco Bay. The belief in the Straits of Anian had not wholly died out,[2] and the Spaniards, hoping to plant themselves on the coast near any supposable inlet which might lead to the Atlantic, were thus lured north across the track of the fur-hunting Russians.

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[1] *California*, i. 513 (for references), 702.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 445, etc.; and the present volume, p. 108.

* A cut in the *Century Magazine*, May, 1883, accompanying an article by Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, on "Father Junipero and his work, — a sketch of the foundation, prosperity, and ruin of the Franciscan missions in California." Father Junipero died at the San Carlos mission in 1784.

The period of the first Mexican revolution which now followed (1811–1817) brought nothing but hard times to the Californian settler, cutting him off from supplies as it did. The crisis also transfers the interest of the reader to the older provinces, which since we last noticed them had gone on in a career of monotonous change and counterchange. In 1786–87, the system of intendencias was put in effect, placing the officers of government in links of dependence, each on his superior. The treasonable plot of Guerrero gives a little color to the early years of the next century.

JOSÉ DE ITURRIGARAY.*

The causes of the coming revolution were not hidden. The law that excluded Spaniards born in America from equal rights with those who were immigrants was a natural, not to say necessary, source of discontent among people whose good-will was much needed by any viceroy. There was inevitably not a little mutual repugnance between the Mexican and Spanish stocks, and the home government did nothing to mollify such asperities. There were commercial monopolies militant against public interests. The clergy were alienated, and since they were not thus so serviceable as formerly in the part of mediators in enforcing governmental aims, it was found necessary to use force where the people were not accustomed to it. The Viceroy José de Iturrigaray practised a seeming condescension that deceived no one, and he pursued his exactions partly by reason of self-interest, and partly in order to supply Madrid with means to meet the financial troubles that the Napoleonic era was creating. After some years of these conditions in New Spain, a conspiracy, resulting from a reaction, sent the viceroy back to Spain a prisoner. This gave strength to revolutionary sentiments, and a few trials for treason increased the discontent. The men who were now put successively in the vice-regal place had few qualities for the times, and a certain timidity of policy was not conducive to strength of government. These were some of the features of the government of Archbishop Lizana as viceroy.[1]

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* After the portrait in Alaman's *Mejico*, vol. i.

The outbreak, when it came, brought to the front a curate of Dolores, a native priest, Miguel Hidalgo, who commanded the confidence of the disaffected, and was relied upon to guide the priesthood. Ignacio de Allende had some of the soldierly qualities needed for a generalissimo. The purpose of these men and their allies, before they should openly proclaim a revolt, was to seize some of the leading Spaniards; but their plot being discovered, they hastily assembled at Dolores and raised the standard of revolt (1810). Thus banded together, but badly organized and poorly armed, a body of five thousand insurgents marched from Dolores, headed by Hidalgo and Allende, and approached Guanajuato, where the intendente Riaña had intrenched himself in a fortified alhóndiga, or granary. The attack of the rebels was headlong and bloody. The gates were fired with flaming rubbish, and through the glowing way the mad throng rushed, and

FRANCISCO JAVIER DE LIZANA.*

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[1] Up to 1808 about two thousand millions of dollars of precious metals had been mined in New Spain.

* This portrait of the archbishop and viceroy follows one in Alaman's *Mejico*, vol. i.

after a hand-to-hand conflict (September 28, 1810) the fortress fell.[1] The royalist leader had been killed, and scenes of pillage and riot followed.

Meanwhile the viceroy in Mexico prepared to receive the insurgents, and his ally, the church, excommunicated their leaders. The military force of the royalists was inconsiderable, and what there was, it was feared, might prove not as loyal as was desirable. As Hidalgo marched towards the capital, he tried to seduce to his side a young lieutenant, Augustin Iturbide, who was in command of a small outlying force. The future emperor declined the offer, and making his way to the city, was at once sent to join Trujillo, who commanded a corps of observation, which confronted the insurgents, and who finally ran the chances of a battle at Las Cruces. Here Iturbide was of service on one flank, and on the other Trujillo risked the practice of treachery during a parley; but what he lost in moral force was no help in the sequel, and the insurgents soon surrounded him, and he was only able to reach the city by breaking with a part of his force through the enveloping line. Hidalgo had lost two thousand men, but he had gained the day. He soon intercepted a despatch and learned from it that General Calleja had been put in motion from San Luis Potosi, and it seemed more

MIGUEL HIDALGO.*

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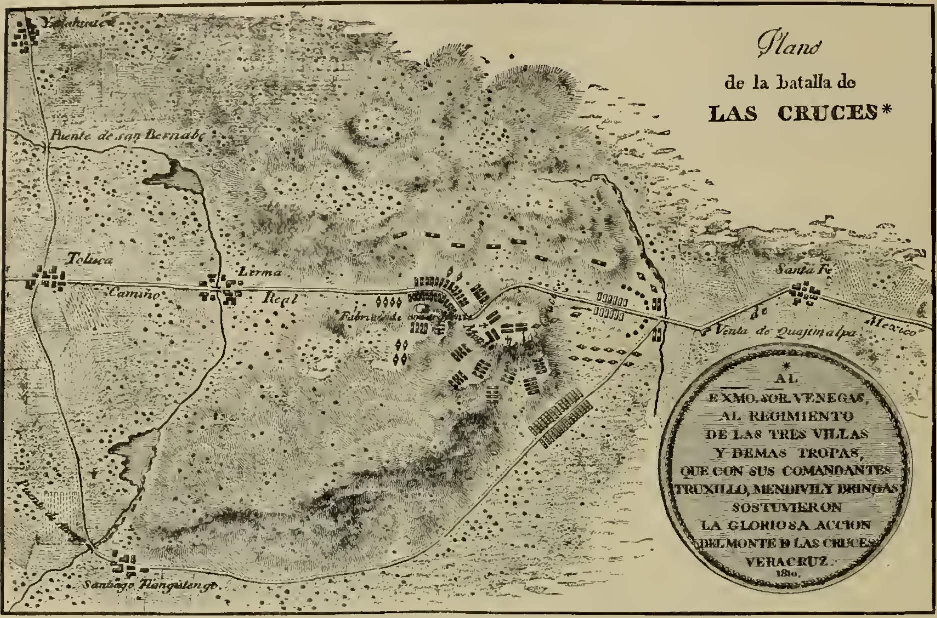
[1] There are plans of this attack in Alaman, *Hist. de Méjico*, i. 425. In *Ibid.* vol. ii. is a map of Mexico showing the marches of Hidalgo, Calleja, and the first and second campaigns of Morelos.

* After a likeness in Alaman's *Méjico*, vol. i.

prudent to Hidalgo that, instead of approaching Mexico, he should retreat to be nearer his recruiting ground. The retrograde movement brought the usual result to an undisciplined force, and he was already weakened by desertions when Calleja struck his line of march at Aculco. Hidalgo felt it



CALLEJA.†

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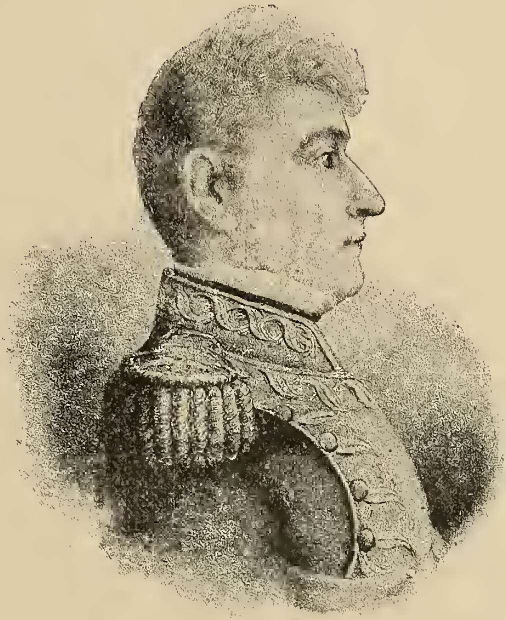
* From Mariano Torrente's *Historia de la Revolucion Hispano-Americana* (Madrid, 1829), vol. i. 152. Cf. Alaman, i. 473.

† After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iv. 77.

important for the revolution to have time enough to spread into other parts of the province, and so he merely fought Calleja to cover his further retreat. The rebel leader soon gathered his forces at Celaya, while Allende, his colleague, posted himself at Guanajuato. Here the latter was attacked by Calleja and routed, and the royal forces made bloody work in the town.[1] Hidalgo, moving to Valladolid, reorganized his army, and then, proceeding to Guadalajara, he set up a form of government, with Ignacio Lopez Rayon as Secretary-general. At this time the insurgents held completely the provinces of Nueva Galicia, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosi, a belt of country stretching from sea to sea in the latitude of Tampico.



IGNACIO LOPEZ RAYON.*

Calleja had so far failed to surround Hidalgo, and in January, 1811, the signs were not very propitious for the royalists. Another royalist general, Cruz,[2] was now striving to join Calleja, and Hidalgo, to prevent it, sent Colonel Mier to confront him; but Cruz defeated his opponent in an engagement near Zamora. At this juncture, and when the royalists had recaptured Guanajuato, Hidalgo moved out from Guadalajara with his entire force, which was large enough, consisting of 60,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 100 cannon; but it was poorly armed, and without effective discipline; while Calleja commanded a well-equipped and well organized force, but in extent it only counted 3,000 foot, with as many horse, and ten guns. At the bridge of Calderon, ten or eleven leagues from the city, Hidalgo prepared to stand. Here Calleja attacked him, leading the centre himself,

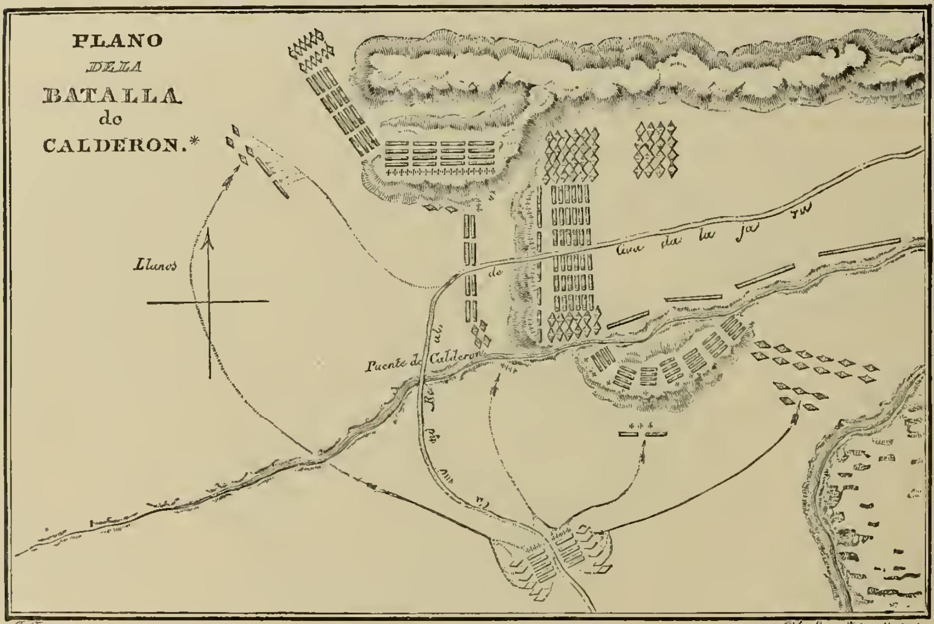
[1] There is a plan in Alaman, ii. 45.

[2] Portrait in Alaman, ii. 297.

* After a likeness in Alaman's *Méjico*, vol. ii.

while General Flon had command on the right, and on the left was the royal cavalry led by Empáran. The attack on both flanks failed, but aided by the firing of an ammunition-wagon, the flames of which caught the dried grass and drove in the face of Hidalgo's men, Calleja thrust his centre violently into the opposing lines, and the battle was won. It was as a victor that Calleja entered Guadalajara on the 21st of January, 1811.

Hidalgo fled with his broken army, and soon resigned the command to Allende. This general had scarcely four or five thousand men left when he reached Saltillo, where he joined Jimenes.



J. Torr.. Rl. Litog.a de Madrid.

The disheartenment of defeat was spreading through the country. Town after town was heard from as yielding to the victors. The leaders, counselling together at Saltillo, resolved to escape to the United States; but as they were marching, — about 2,000 in all, with twenty-four guns and a money-chest, — they fell into an ambush planned in the interest of a counter-revolution by one Elizondo, and, with nothing more than a show of resistance, the party was captured, one and all. The judgment of death upon Hidalgo, Allende, and Jimenes soon followed.[1]

The main force of the insurgents had thus disappeared, but a small body still remained in arms under the lead of José Maria Morelos. He was a man of little intellectual training, but possessed of a vigilant turn for affairs, while his commanding eye and energetic spirit gave him a considerable power over his followers. So, with dependence on Morelos, the revolutionary spirit was still active enough in certain regions to keep Calleja in the field. In February, 1812, Morelos made a stand at Cuautla (Guautla), where he repelled the royalist attacks so vigorously that Calleja settled down at last for the protracted work of a siege.[1] Disease was weakening the forces both within and without, but famine was added to the perils of the besieged camp, so that Morelos in May resolved to extricate himself by bursting upon a single point of the circumvallating lines. He succeeded, but not with any organized force, for his men scattered in the act. The victory of Calleja was a doubtful one, and he stained his arms by the devastation which he permitted in the town after the rebels had escaped.

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[1] Bancroft, *Mexico*, iv. ch. 11; bibliography, p. 287. Allende and Jimenes were shot in May, and Hidalgo, after having been degraded from his priestly office, was shot in July. The bones of all, after the later revolution, were removed in 1823 from Chihuahua to the Cathedral in Mexico.

* From Torrente's *Hist. de la Rev. Hispano-Americana* (Madrid, 1829), i. 152. Cf. Alaman's *Hist. de Méjico*, vol. ii.

JOSÉ MARIA MORELOS.*

By August (1812) Morelos had gathered about 3,600 men at Tehuacan, where he continued to threaten some of the lines of communication with the capital, and sought to pursue a guerrilla warfare. In October he captured Orizaba, and in November he was before Oajaca with 5,000 men, and speedily entered the place. Thence, in April, 1813, he advanced upon Acapulco, and though he took the town, the capture occupied so much time that Calleja, who had become viceroy, was enabled, after having subdued all opposition elsewhere, to turn upon the rebellious southern province.[2]

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[1] Alaman (ii. 495) gives a plan.

[2] Alaman (vol. iii.) gives a map showing the parts of the country held respectively by the royalists and rebels in 1813, with the marches of Morelos.

* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iv. 329.

A congress of revolutionists in this region had already entrusted high powers to Morelos, and it proclaimed independence on November 6, 1813.

Morelos, with all the force he could muster, appeared in November before Valladolid, the capital of Michoacan. Thence, hearing that the royalists under Llano and Iturbide were marching to attack him, he detached Ramon Rayon to intercept them; but the plan failed, and Morelos received the onset of the royalists while he was pressing his attack upon the city. The insurgents were routed and the city was saved, and while Morelos was retreating he barely escaped capture at the hands of Iturbide and his cavalry. In January, 1814, Morelos made a final stand at Puruaran, but Iturbide still drove him. Disaster followed upon disaster, till finally Morelos was deposed by his own congress. This body had adherents enough to

JOSÉ MARIA MORELOS.*

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* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iii. 327.

make it necessary for Calleja to appeal to the home government for a reinforcement of 8,000 troops. Ramon Rayon with a small force still held out at Cóporo Hill, near Zitácuaro, and Llano and Iturbide had dashed against his works in vain.

Morelos, meanwhile, commanding an escort which was protecting the migratory congress, was intercepted and captured by a force of royalists, and, after the forms of a trial, he was executed December 22, 1815.

FRANCISCO JAVIER MINA.*

The campaign of 1816 was sustained by the insurgents against a force of 80,000 men which Calleja had collected, and these were mainly directed against a few thousands which kept the field under Manuel Miel y Teran. Neither side had much success, and the war was simply tedious. At last, in August, a new viceroy, Juan Riaz de Apodaca, succeeded to Calleja, and uniting a more humane policy with vigor in disposing his forces, the leading rebel officers, Teran and Osorno, surrendered in January, 1817, and Ramon Rayon likewise succumbed a little later.

A certain quixotic interest is lent to the closing months of the revolution by the adventurous exploits of Espoz y Mina. He had fitted out a small expedition in the United States, which, landing on the Gulf coast, for a while swept victoriously inland. Mina's force was soon checked, however, at Sombrero, and he himself escaped to the camp of Torres, a revolutionary general sixty miles off. The two endeavored to make way together; but Mina was finally surprised and executed.

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* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iv. 347.

Other vagrant rebel leaders fell one by one into the hands of the royalists; but Guadalupe Victoria held out, and concealed himself in the wilds for two years.

FERDINAND VII.*

The aspect of affairs was now changed by the news of the revolution in Spain and the swearing of Ferdinand VII to the Constitution framed by the Cortes, — tidings of which reached Mexico in April, 1820. The old revolutionists were awaiting the hour, and now, conferring together, they turned, probably not without knowledge, to the old enemy of the cause, Augustin de Iturbide. He on some pretence secured from the viceroy a command in the south, where he was defeated, and it is not sure that he was not willingly beaten, by Vicente Guerrero, who in return received him into his cause, and gave him command of a revolutionary army of five or six thousand men. Iturbide now made to Apodaca the offer of the presidency of the junta, if the viceroy himself would desert the royal cause;

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* After a print in William Walton's *Spanish Colonies* (London, 1810), vol. i., following a portrait owned by Admiral Apodaca.

but the offer was rejected, and measures of resistance were planned. It was, however, too late. The revolution was on its headlong way, and Apodaca gave place to a successor who recognized the cry of independence, and opened the capital's gates to Iturbide in September, 1821. At this juncture the royal standard was nowhere to be seen in Mexico but at Vera Cruz, Perok, and Acapulco, and at all these it speedily fell.

Iturbide in the capital and in possession of power, his influence was exerted to advance his own ambitious schemes. The people were divided into monarchists and republicans. Congress and Iturbide fell into opposition on the question of supporting an army in the City of Mexico, when Dávila, a leading monarchist, tried to force Iturbide into a counter-revolution. Iturbide, however, chose rather to await his time, though he did not make any progress in coercing congress. In his proclamation issued (1821) at Iguala,[1] the now paramount leader had planned a limited monarchy for the future; but the republican view was apparently fast overthrowing in the popular mind any monarchical scheme. Iturbide now and

AUGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.*

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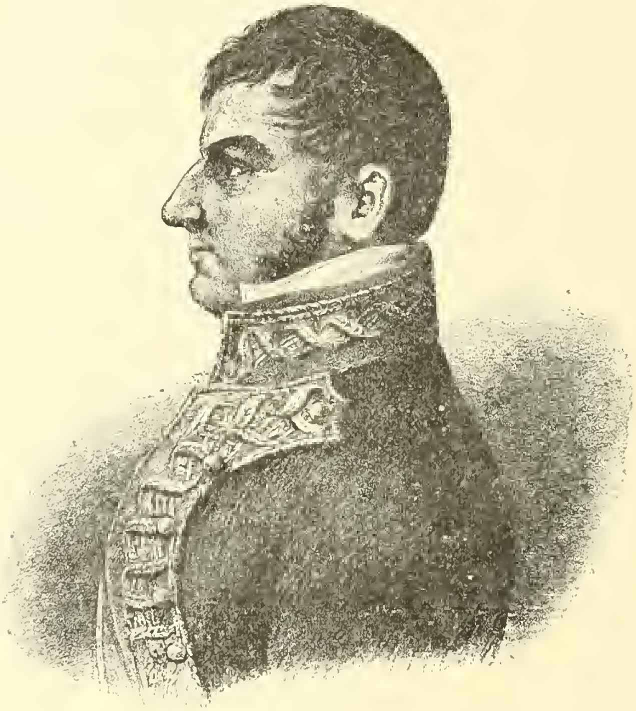
[1] This document is in all the collections of documents of this time. It can be found in some of the common books, like G. D. Abbot's *Mexico and the United States*, 248.

* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, v. 51.

suddenly caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and congress, lacking a quorum, gave in a forced adherence. In furtherance of the scheme, the new emperor's family was ennobled, and the succession was ordered to be in the line of his descendants.

The republican party was by no means to be quieted by any imperial assumption. Its members were restless. The press teemed with their discontent. They charged that the decision for an empire was unconstitutional. These recalcitrant views invaded the congress, and it was not long before that body was in open rupture with the emperor, while Santa Anna at Vera Cruz inaugurated an open revolt, and organized an army of liberation. He was not, however, gaining ground against Iturbide's general, Echávarri, when certain Masonic influences acted upon this imperial officer, and he was induced to issue a proclamation for the reëstablishment of the National Assembly. He had in this anticipated a popular view of those who now took bold ground for the republic. Even in the capital the defection could not be stopped, and regiment after regiment took up the cry of the Republic, till at last Iturbide gave up the struggle and abdicated. The assembly, which had been slow to gather, finally appointed a provisional government in Bravo, Negrete, and Victoria. Iturbide, being conducted to Vera Cruz, was allowed to embark for Italy. After he had sailed an edict was issued forbidding his return. Ignorant of this last injunction,



NICOLAS BRAVO.*

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* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, iii. 260.

he left Italy for England, where he embarked for Mexico, but soon after landing he was seized and executed.[1]

The party now in control were far from being of one mind: some were for a federation of the provinces; others were for a centralized power in the City of Mexico. They could unite, however, on the exclusion of monarchists, and in this temper a new assembly met in November, 1823, and began to discuss a constitution. This settled, the elections followed, and Guadalupe Victoria was chosen by the Federalists over Nicolás Bravo, the candidate of the Centralists. So the United States of Mexico opened a republican era in Spanish America in 1824.

SANTA ANNA.*

It was not long before factions began to appear in political circles, and one of the chief moving causes of disturbance in governmental policies became active in a troublous condition of the finances. The old party lines disappeared, and Bravo, who had become vice-president, gathered about him a revolutionary faction. Intrigue and revolt followed the going out of the first president, when Gomez Pedraza succeeded to his office. Still another revolution prospered under Santa Anna (1828), and Pedraza was obliged to fly.

Meanwhile, in 1825, the United States had sent Poinsett as minister to

[1] His remains were in 1838 reburied in the Cathedral at Mexico, with solemnities. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, iv. ch. 29–33.

* From a picture in J. M. Niles' *South America and Mexico* (Hartford, 1837).

the new republic, and treaties with that country had been signed. About the same time the Spanish government had surrendered the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, and Spain had slipped at last from her only remaining foothold on Mexican soil. But Spain herself had not yet yielded to the inevitable. A predatory and intermittent warfare was kept up on the sea, until finally, in 1829, Brigadier Barradas was dispatched from Havana with a Spanish fleet. His purpose was to reconquer Mexico; but not long after landing he capitulated to Santa Anna, and the last great struggle of Spain to maintain her colonial possession came to an inglorious end.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.*

The political changes in the Mexican capital now became wearisome. We read listlessly of a series of ups and downs in which the names of Guerrero, Bustamante, Muzquiz, Pedraza, Farías, and Santa Anna claim honor or are despised with the revolving moons, till in 1836 the federal system is overturned, and under a new constitution the states assume relations of departments, subject to the general government, and Anastasio Bustamante becomes the first Centralist president. Recognition by Spain was not long in following.

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* After a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, v. 687. Cf. B. Mayer's *Mexico, Aztec, Spanish, and Republican*, ii.

A national career of political indecision is never calculated to clarify, and certainly never strengthens, the finances of a country. The French became impatient of the Mexican delays in meeting their indebtedness. So they sent a squadron to exact payment. The castle of San Juan de Ulúa fell under bombardment, and troops were landed at Vera Cruz and its defences taken. The claims were paid, and the French, surrendering their conquests, sailed away.

But humiliation was powerless to win repose for the turbulence which in these years continued to make Mexico a spectacle. In 1841, Paredes, acting in concert with Santa Anna, instigated a revolution, which spread so rapidly that it was not long before Santa Anna found himself at the head of an army, with which in triumph he entered the City of Mexico, October 7th, and assumed a provisional presidency. His sway was complete enough for a while, and some of his flatterers caused his leg, which had been shot away at Vera Cruz, to be brought to the capital in 1842, and to be reburied with a ridiculous pomp. Childishness does not rule nations long, and Paredes had some reasonable countenance in trying his luck once more at a revolt, and in proclaiming Santa Anna a rebel. General Herrera strode into power, and the late president fled the country.

Meanwhile affairs in Texas were drifting towards a crisis. The United States had more than once proposed to purchase the territory, but Mexico had declined to sell. Immigration from the United States was more effective. In 1833 there were twenty thousand Americans in the country. While the Centralists were in power Santa Anna was sent to sweep the recalcitrant Texans into the line of dependence; but General Samuel Houston with a small force of independent spirits met the Mexican general at San Jacinto,[1] defeated him, took him prisoner, and wrung from him his assent to their independence.[2] But Santa Anna was not Mexico, and the contract was repudiated, though during the administration of Herrera the Texans had not been meddled with; but when Paredes overturned Herrera, the war party began afresh the work of subduing the Texans. The story of the annexation of the new State to the United States, which soon followed, and the war which came in due course, has been elsewhere told.[3]

We resume the story of California where we left it at the beginning of the Mexican revolution. It was while these political revulsions were in progress in the older provinces that the Russians, feeling their way down the Pacific coast, finally built Fort Ross at a point not far above Bodega, making a lodgment calculated to raise suspicions and to implant anxieties in the Spanish Californians. These feelings had been continued for some years when the Spanish rule on the coast came to an end, and the lot of California was cast with that of Mexico in conjoined autonomy. The new life of the coast under these freer conditions was not an exciting one. They had, indeed, their Indian revolts. New settlers appeared, now overland, mainly fur-trappers, and now up the coast, with a few from the higher regions of the Pacific shore.[1] The tendency to secularize the missions was constantly apparent. Attempts to make the province a penal colony for Mexican criminals were not helpful aids to a healthy development. In the later years of the twenties, what was known as the "Solis revolt" was sufficiently powerful to capture Monterey, but the leader was in time snared. There was some further fighting when Governor Victoria was overthrown in 1831. After 1830 there began to be significance in the visits of the ships of foreign powers in the ports. American vessels bore thither not a few commercial adventurers, who carried back tales of the land's salubrity and plenty, and of the scant advantage which the trappers and traders

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[1] Cf. plan of the battle in Bancroft, *Mexico*, v. 172. Cf. *ante*, VII. 550, 551, with references.

[2] C. Newell's *Hist. of the Revolution in Texas* (N. Y., 1838).

[3] See *ante*, Vol. VII. 550, and 551 for references.

SAMUEL HOUSTON.*

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[1] Bancroft, *California*, ii., iii., for a pioneer Register, 1542–1848. The earliest overland pioneers were in 1826. *Ibid.* iii. ch. 6.

* From a picture in J. M. Niles' *South America and Mexico* (Hartford, 1837).

were taking of such qualities. Such a book as Richard H. Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, chronicling the visit of a Boston vessel on the coast trading for hides in 1835–36, did more than anything else to store the American mind with a knowledge of the life of the coast. A year or two of rebellious wavering, of conspiracies that did not by any means always bring blood, of depredations by the Indians that were reminders of the savage past, — these were the variations upon the monotony of a life that had not yet become very closely connected with distant communities.

A change took place about 1840. Foreigners, from having been lookers-on when their vessels chanced to enter the ports, now began to assert their national presence, and they speedily grew as a body to be more important personages in the coast affairs than their Mexican neighbors. These conditions necessarily drew the attention of such foreign governments as had fleets to show themselves often in the California waters. England held a Mexican indebtedness which could but suggest the thought that the cession of California would satisfactorily cancel it. The man Sutter, a Swiss wanderer, became a prominent character as early as 1840. The Russian governor, Wrangell, at Sitka, feeling it necessary to aggrandize the Ross settlement and to strengthen Russian claims to the coast, endeavored to induce Mexico to make cession of San Rafael and Sonoma; but he hoped against fate. Thus baffled, he found a better policy in abandoning the Ross settlement, and the property was bought by Sutter in 1841.

There had been for three hundred years occasional intimations of gold being found in these coast regions, but apparently all these were rather figurative expressions than sober records.[1] The earliest actual finding of gold took place, as Bancroft asserts, in the Los Angeles district in 1842, and then accidentally.

It was not the chance of gold-mining that as yet made California attract the attention of three great powers. France had wrested from Mexico her dues at Vera Cruz, and she had no stronger expectation, if the severance with Mexico came, than that as a Catholic nation she could appeal as their natural succorer to the new Californias. England had not forgotten the money she had lent, and California in perhaps a few English minds was thought of as an equivalent. The United States, having settled her northern boundary disputes in the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1842, was quite ready to press towards the south and west. Commodore Jones on the coast in an American fleet was over-zealous in the cause, and, seizing Monterey, displayed there the American flag. The time had not come, and the United States apologized for the act.

The overland immigration from the United States continued, and when the governor of California heard a little later of the annexation of Texas to the United States, and of the war likely to grow out of it, he was warned to be prepared, and it was no relief to his anxiety that Americans still came straggling along into his province, and that a certain American army officer, Frémont by name, was making observations within the boundaries of the province, and that the Oregon trail had found also an outlet in the California valleys.[1] It was not quite sure how far the American government was to be seen in all this; but it was soon known that when Slidell was sent as minister to Mexico to treat for a determination of the Texan boundary, he was commissioned to buy California if he could; and if he could not. there were other measures not unknown to American ambition.

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[1] These clews are gathered in Bancroft's *California inter pocula*, ch. 2.

The chance was soon offered. The shots on the Rio Grande opened the war of the United States and Mexico. In the early months of 1846 Frémont and Gillispie were in the province, — the one bearing despatches to Thomas O. Larkin, who exerted himself so to compass the condition of affairs that from his vantage-ground as American consul, and as a man of character, he could watch and direct the change of allegiance with as little violence as possible. Frémont had other purposes, and so he brought on a crisis, and uniting with Commodore Sloat at Monterey, the conquest was completed, — as has been told in another volume.[2] While these events were taking place, there was in most minds little hope that California could long remain Mexican. The American party was much the strongest, irrespective of its military and naval succor; and events rushed too rapidly for men like Pico to make an effectual appeal to England. It is Bancroft's opinion that the belief often entertained, that England was simply anticipated in her purpose of seizing the coast by the precipitation of the Americans, has no warrant in fact.

It is necessary, in order to complete this survey of the Spanish rule in middle America, to glance briefly at the provinces of Central America. In the regions of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and neighboring parts, there had been the same occasion for the New Laws, and the same influences were equally potent as at the north in bringing about their repeal. There was also in the history of Central America much the same instability of political wisdom. The brothers Cartreras revolted in Nicaragua in 1550, and were defeated. Honduras offers little to engage our attention. Ecclesiasticism in Chiapas and elsewhere was much the same thing that it was in Oajaca or further north. Las Casas for a while, and Manoquin down to his death in 1563, are the central figures in this detail.

On the Isthmus there was an element which gave to life some contrasts in the vagrant Cimarrones,[3] as the negro slaves were called, who fled into the thickets, and, banding with the Indians, infested the routes of travel, fought with poisoned arrows if encountered, and robbed the treasure trains when they could. They made themselves a king, Bayano by name, and it took Ursua two years to reduce them to terms, and then they had proved valiant enough as foemen to be made freemen for a reward, which they got in 1574. Yet four years later (1578) they rose again, and adroitly allying themselves with the English buccaneers then swarming on the coast, they defied all power that could be brought against them, and remained a terror for many years. What with this harassing of the towns and with the corsairs on the coast, it was hardly possible for the Panama settlements to grow, and a decided retrogression marked their history.

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[1] J. D. Whitney in his *United States* (Boston, 1889) says: "With Fremont's work the epoch of geographical exploration closed, and that of proper cartographical work began" (p. 437).

[2] Vol. VII. p. 409.

[3] See *ante*, Vol. III. p. 65.

The story of English Elizabethan seamanship is full of lawless depredation on the two coasts of these lower parts of middle America. Drake was here in 1572, dealing his sudden blows with the help of the Cimarrones; Oxenham, in 1575; and Drake again, in 1577, on that famous voyage in the Pacific,[1] startled the country round with his guns, as he made his great capture of treasure in Panama Bay.

Si vniscono insieme dugento, e trecento, &

NATIVE DANCE.*

For a century and more the history of these waters, bordering the Isthmus on the east and on the west, is largely the story of the buccaneers. In 1601 Captain William Parker attacked Porto Bello.[2] In 1623 James I of England granted San Cristóbal, or Saint Kitt's, to one Thomas Warren, and it became the rallying place of all the English and French freebooters in their ravages upon the Spanish trade and territory.[3] It mattered little under what flag the marauders sailed; French and English were alike to be dreaded, and both governments kept faith with pirates if they only plundered the Spaniards. No one of these sea-rovers acquired a name more dreaded than

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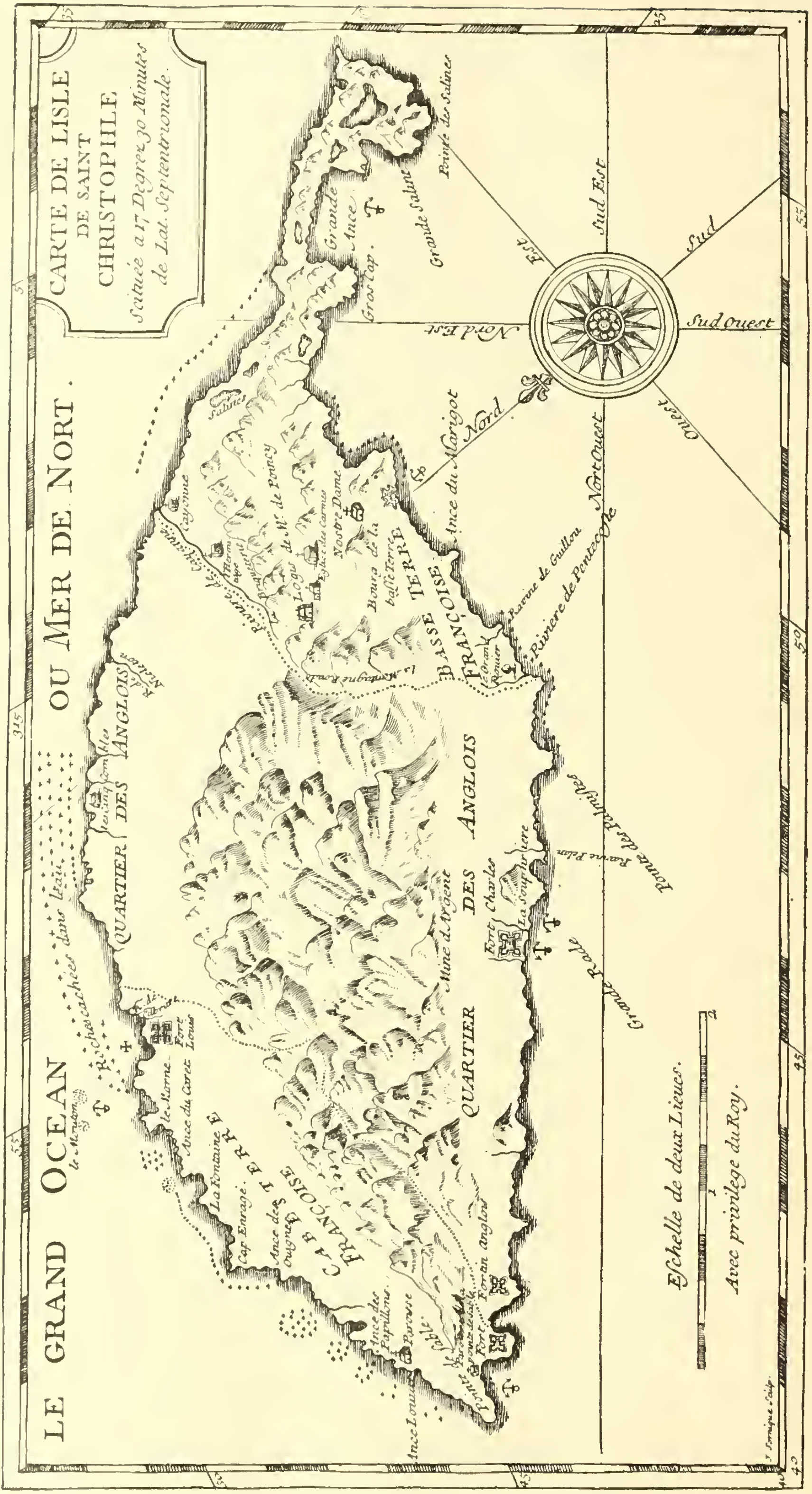
[1] See *ante*, Vol. III. ch. 2; and the bibliography of Drakeana.

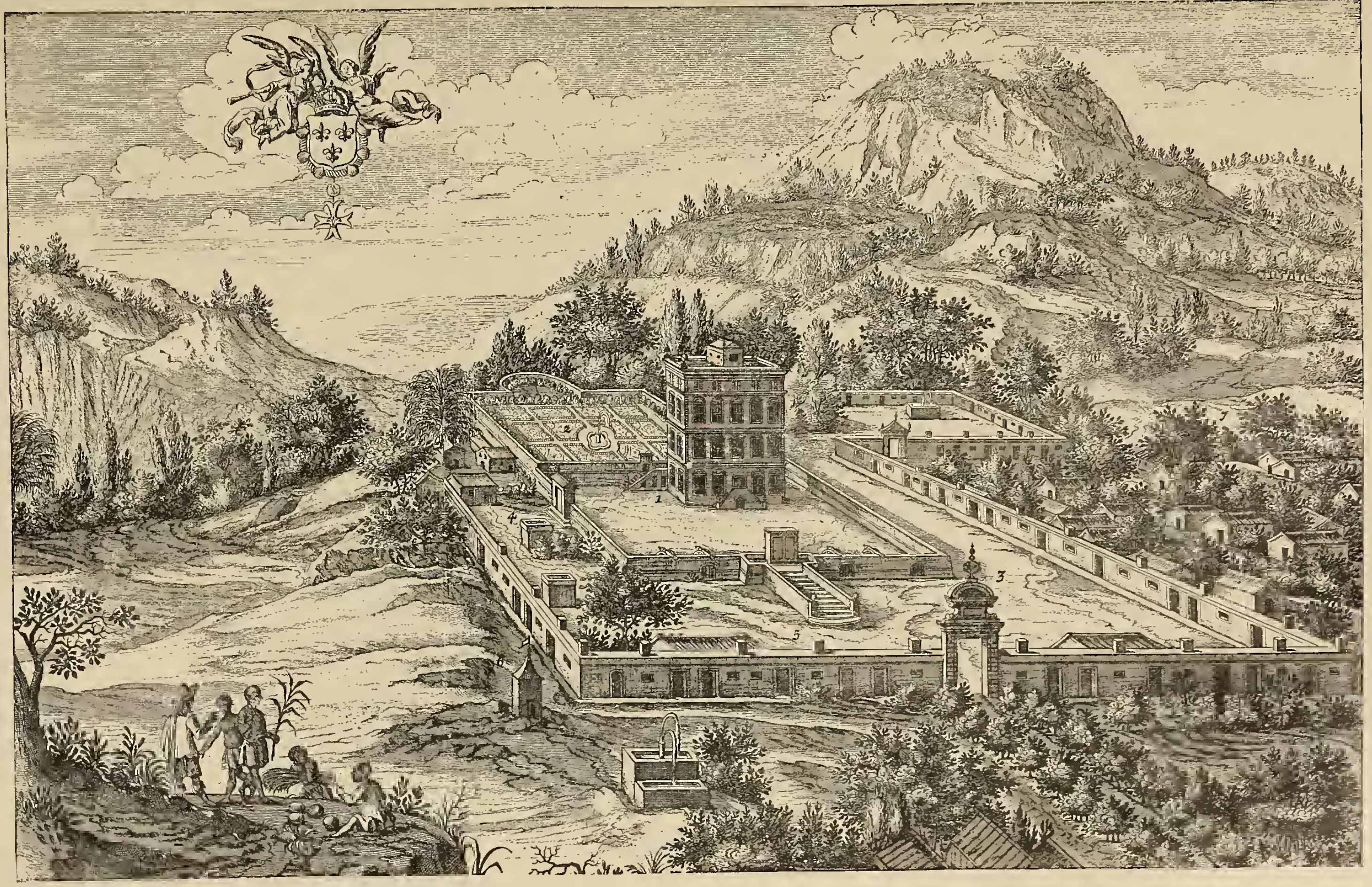
[2] Parker's own narrative is in the *Geog Description of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740).

[3] Eugène Sue, *Hist. de la marine française* (Paris, 1835), i. 357.

* This is Benzoni's sketch of the native fashion of dancing in Nicaragua and neighboring regions (edition of 1572, p. 105).



From Labat's *Nouveau Voyage* (Paris, 1722), vol. v.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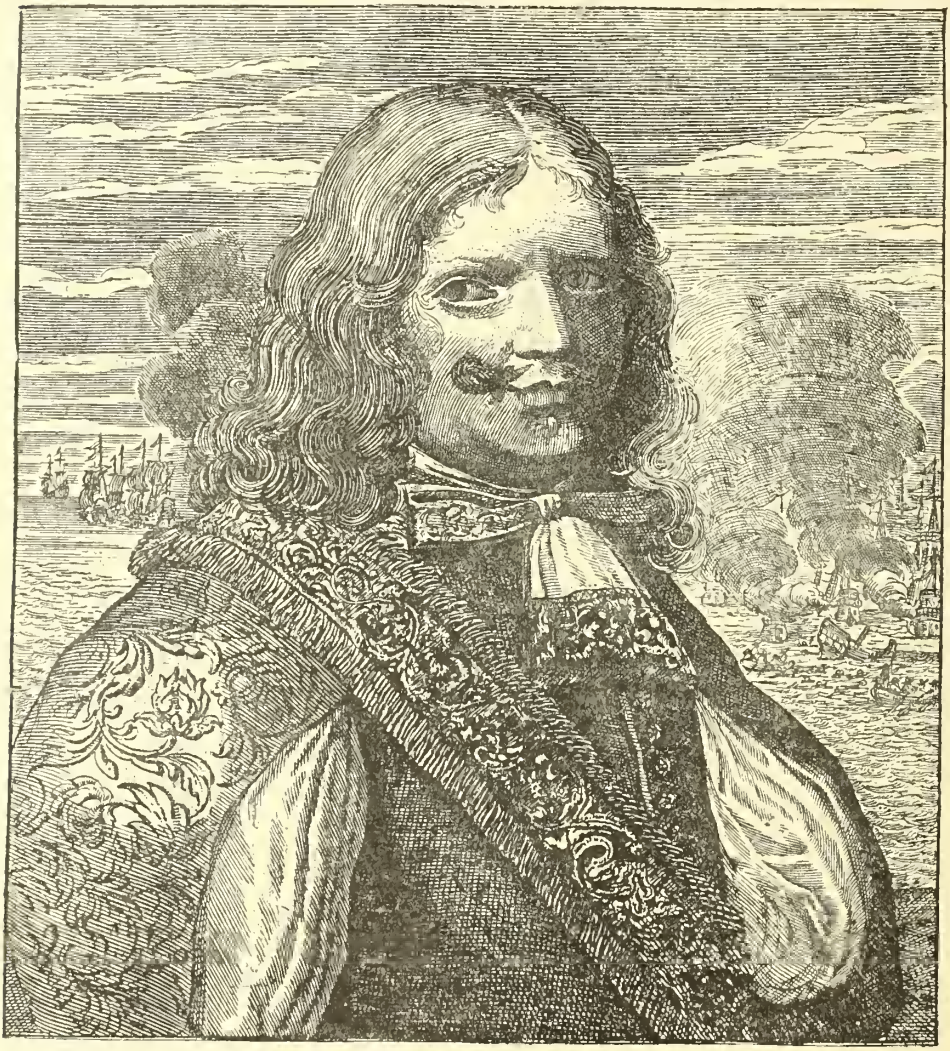
the Welshman Henry Morgan, who succeeded in 1664 to Admiral Mansfelt in command of the pirate fleet. He raided the Isthmus, captured with a part of his fleet the castle of San Lorenzo, and took the town of Panama in January, 1671. As a result, its citizens bodily moved their homes, and built a new city of the same name in a locality more easily defended. But

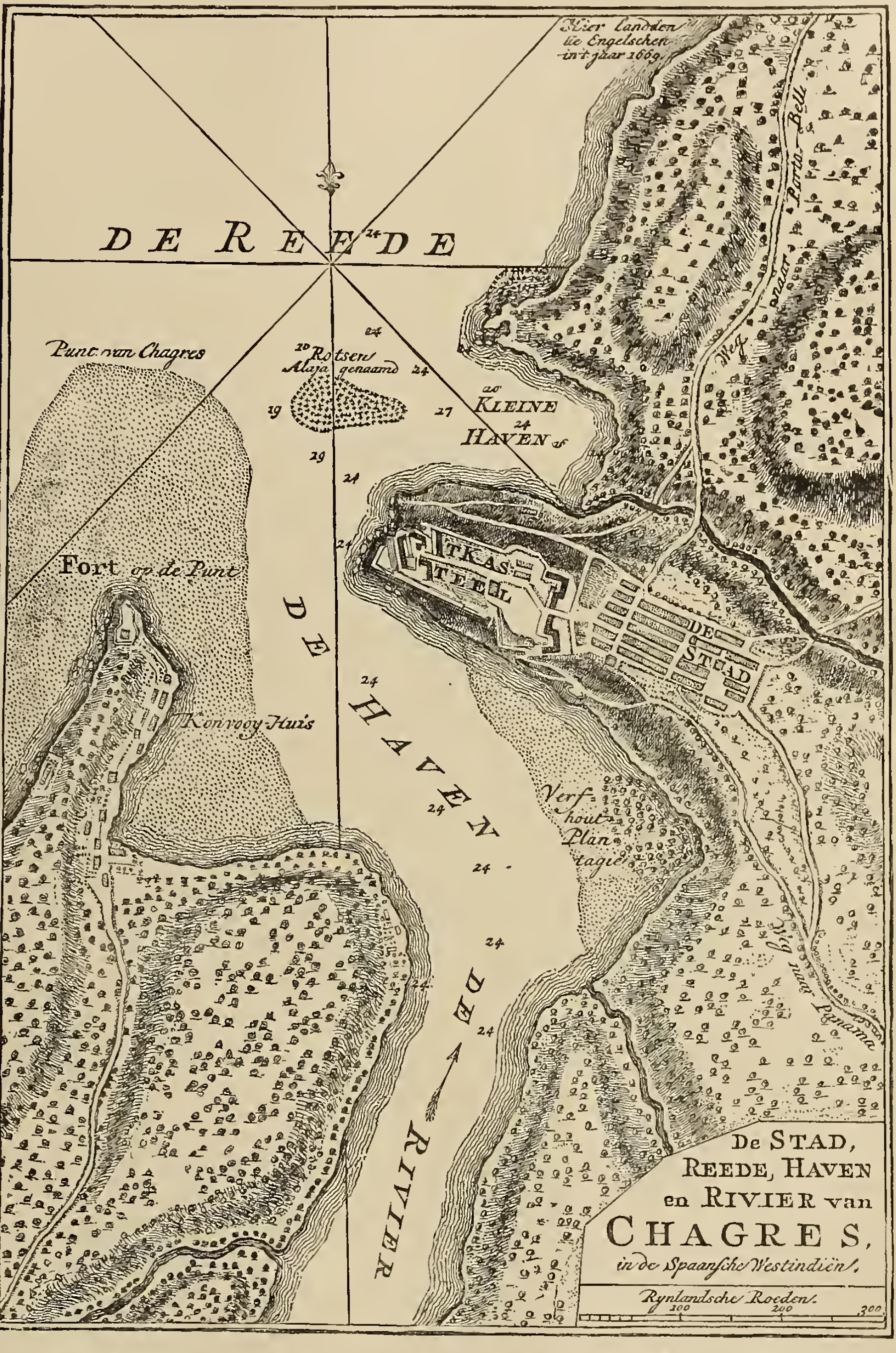


SIR HENRY MORGAN.*

NOTE. — The bird's-eye view (on the preceding page) of the Chateau of Monsieur le Général de Poincy at St. Christophers is reduced from a plate in César de Rochefort's *Isles Antilles* (Rotterdam, 1665). — KEY: 1, Le Chasteau. 2, Le Jardin. 3, La Basse cour. 4, La Chapelle et les offices. 5, Les Escuries. 6, La Tour des Munitions. 7, La ville d'Angole. A good deal relating to the history of the island is to be drawn from the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series*, vols. i. and v. (down to 1668). The island was given up to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

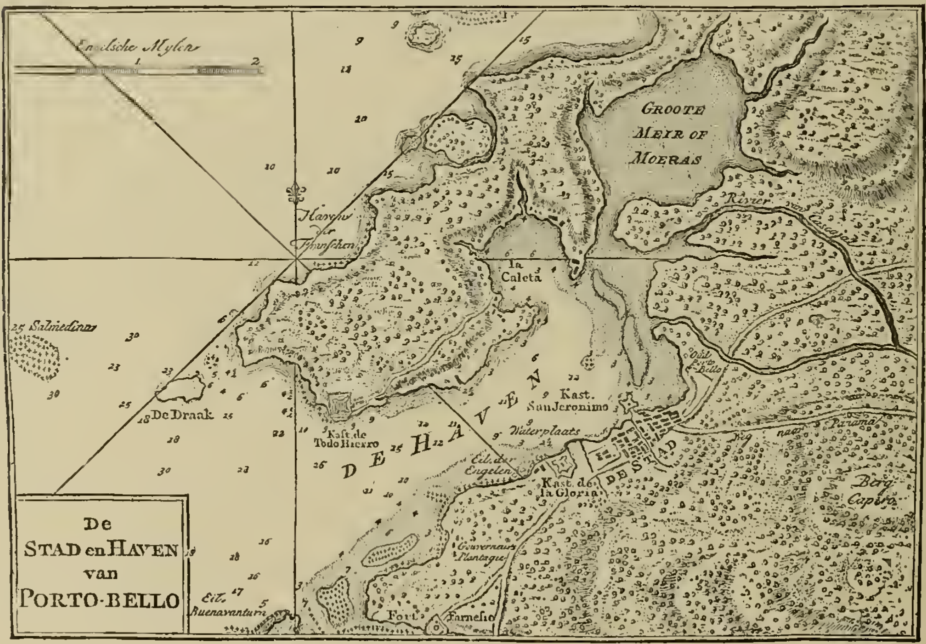
* From the print in the English version (3d ed.) of Exquemelin's *History of the Bucaniers* (London, 1704). This and portraits of other leading buccaneers appear in some of the editions of Exquemelin. Cf. Cassell's *United States*, i. 397, 409, etc.

even here they were again imperilled. The corsairs, a little later, having plundered Porto Bello and Santa Maria, followed the river courses inland,



From *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), i. 350. There is also a plan of the castle of San Lorenzo in *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1740, p. 350, showing Vernon's attack, March 24, 1740. Jefferys' *Description of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762) has a map of the town and harbor.

and then, descending to the South Sea in canoes, added to their armament some piraguas when they reached deeper water, and appeared in the bay of Panama prepared for their usual fiendish sports. Captain Bartholomew Sharp, in command of a light flotilla, essayed to surprise the new Panama; but word of his coming had reached the town in advance, and surprise was impossible. The Spanish admiral, Jacinto de Barahona, appearing in the bay with a fleet, an obstinate battle took place before Panama, and the pirates later sailed south and gathered an abundance of treasure. Dampier in the mean while, who had been with the corsairs, recrossed the Isthmus and joined his ships on the north side.[1] It would be tedious to enumerate all these piratical excursions in these latter years of the eighteenth century, which included, however, so considerable an event as the taking



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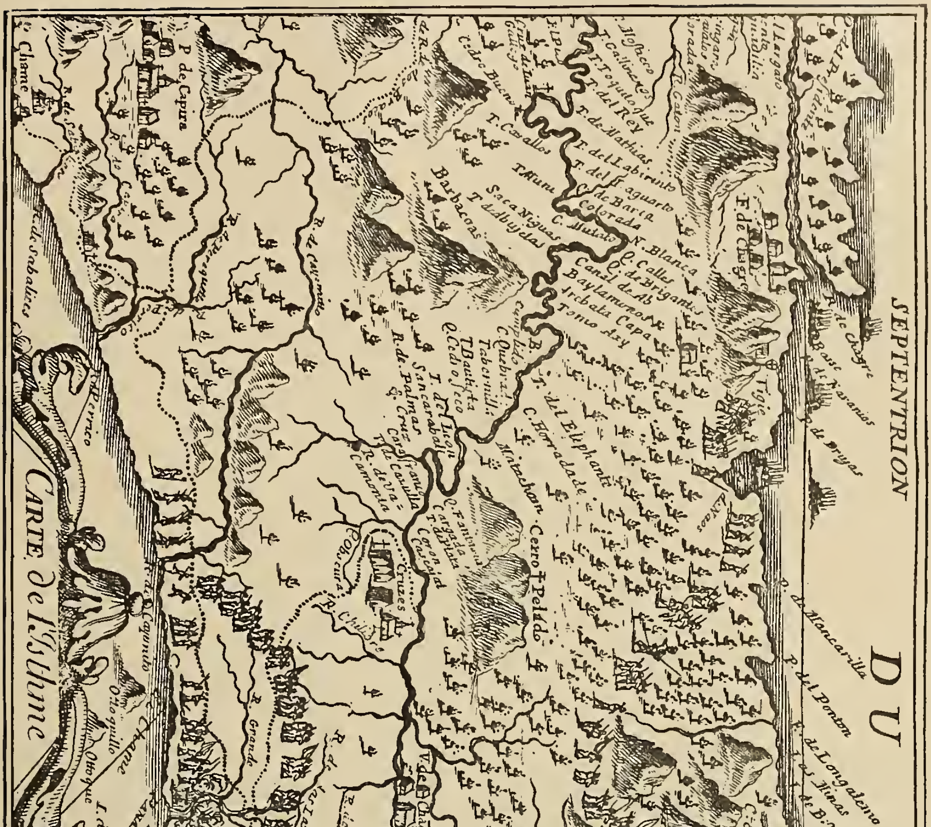
[1] Dampier began his manhood experience in Spanish America, among the logwood cutters of Campeachy; but after a visit to England he came again in 1679 to Jamaica, and soon joined the buccaneers, when, having aided in Sharp's expedition across the Isthmus to attack Panama, he sided with a party opposed to serving under that commander (he and Wafer being of this disaffected crew), who crossed the Isthmus to rejoin the fleet, which after many trials they did. The next two years were spent by him under the buccaneer flag.

NOTE. — The above map of Porto Bello is from *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), i. 308.

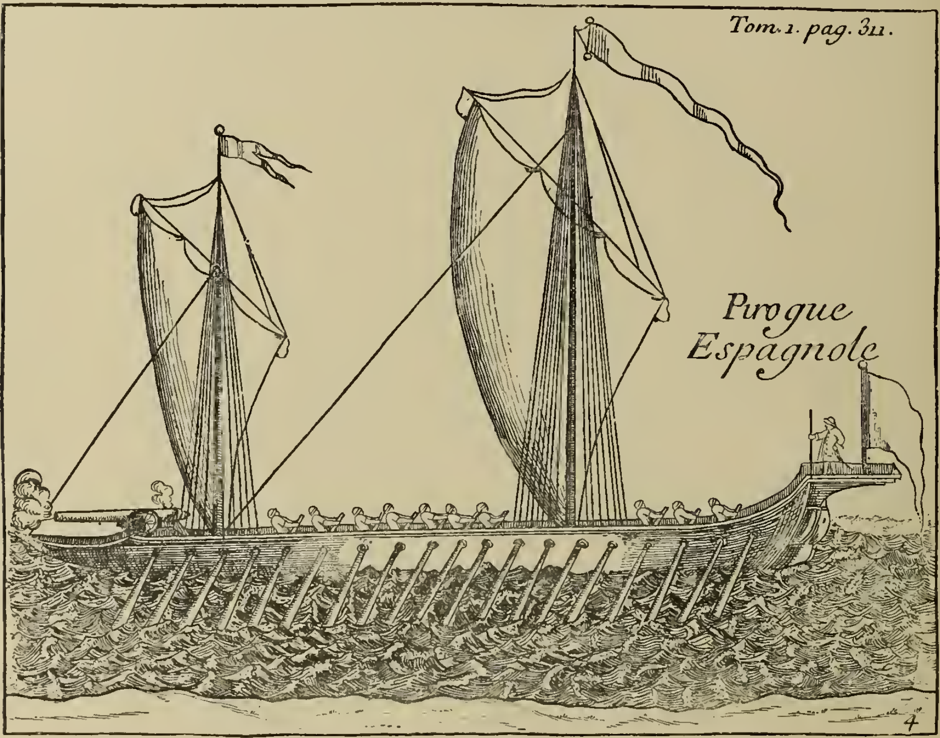
The attacks of Parker (1601), Morgan (1668), the pirates (1679), and Vernon (1739) gave an interest to Porto Bello which occasioned frequent maps of the bay during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. — like those in Coreal's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1722), vol. i.; Prévost's *Voyages* (xiii.); the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (ix., xi.); Ulloa's *Voyages*; the *Geog. Desc. of the Span. West Indies* (London, 1740); that of the town and harbor in a *Geog. Description of the Coasts, etc., of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740); a rude plan with a key of Vernon's attack, in *The Newsman's Interpreter* (Manchester, Eng., 1741, 2d ed.); one by the English geographer Jefferys, in *A Description of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762); Homann's *Portus Pulchri*, showing Vernon's attack. Tomas Lopez's map is in the *Atlas Geographico de la Amerika* (Madrid, 1758), p. 58.



NOTE. — From Oexmelin's *Histoire des Avanturiers Flibustiers, Nouvell ed. corrigée* (Trevoux, 1744), vol. ii. Cf. the "Map of the Country and Citty [sic] of Panama" in the English version of Exquemelin's *Hist. of the Bucaniers*, 3d ed. (London, 1704).

A map of the Isthmus in 1597 is given *ante*, II. 190. The times of the buccaneers produced other maps than those mentioned above. Dudley included it in his *Arcano del Mare* (1647). Wafer's map in 1699 is given herewith. The Scots' settlement at that time produced various other maps, like those by Hermann of Cartagena in 1697,[1] the last great exploit of this maritime license, for the Peace of Ryswick, in that same year, practically closed the period of the buccaneers.

A new complication with England arose, when, at the close of the century, William Paterson led a colony of Scots to settle at Darien. The company had left Leith with great jubilation. Money without stint had flowed in to furnish the colony. The headlong zeal of those who strove to go was not abated by any knowledge of the climate they would have to encounter, and dreams of the great opportunity for amassing fortunes by virtue of securing the transit trade of the Isthmus were too impressive to let the eager youths who had embarked think of obstacles. They had a warrant from William III to plant where they could, if they disturbed no civilized settlers, and they could bargain for land with the savages. But not so



From Oexmelin's *Avanturiers Flibustiers* (Trevoux, 1744), vol. ii.

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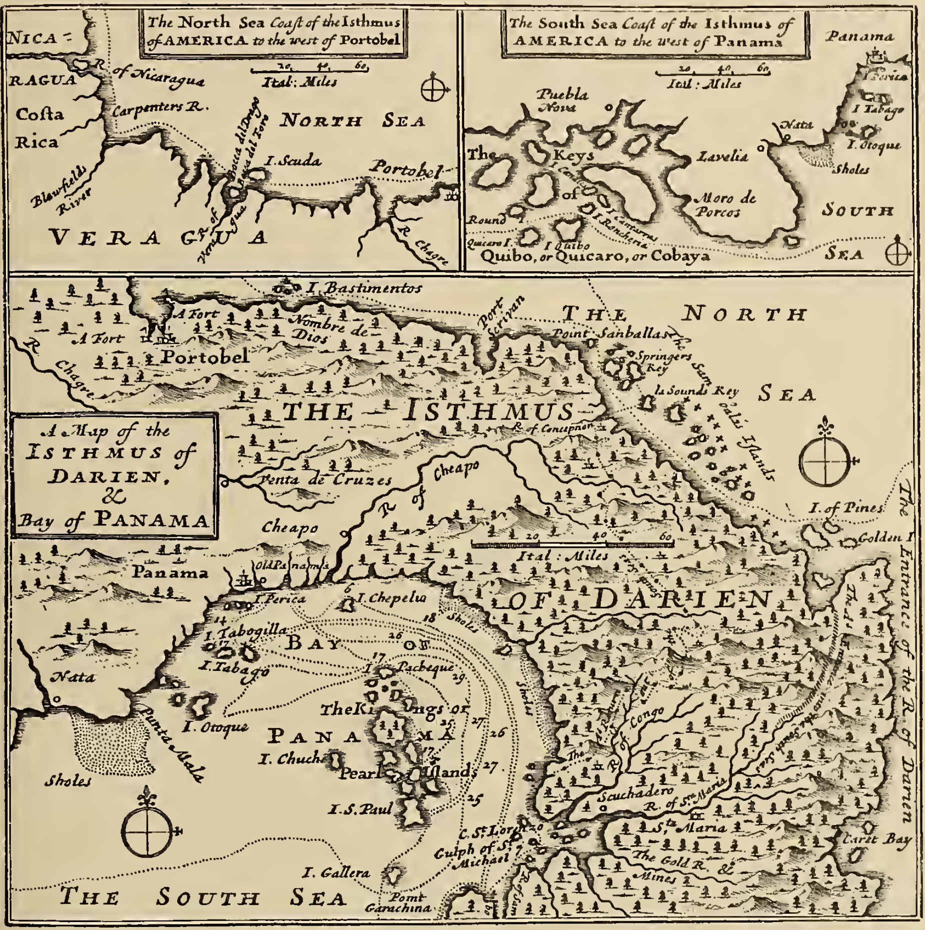
[1] See *post*, ch. 5.

Moll (1699), and in his *Atlas* (1729), no. 27, and the Covens and Mortier's *Isthmus ou Darien.* Early in the eighteenth century, Ottens at Amsterdam published several: *Nova isthmi Americani tabula* (1717). D'Anville dates an *Isthmus de Panama* April, 1730 (given in Charlevoix's *Espagnole*, Amsterdam, 1733); and the *King's Maps, Brit. Mus.* (i. 288) shows a MS. map, 1743. Jefferys' *Description of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762) gives another. There is a *Kaart van de Landengte van Panama, volgens de Spaansche aftekeninge opgemaakt* in *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766). James Burney's *Hist. of the Buccaneers of America* (London, 1816) gives a map compiled from Dampier, D'Anville, and the Spanish survey of 1791.

favorably inclined were the corporated companies who had rival schemes of aggrandizement, and the poor colonists found themselves jealously watched by the Spaniards on the one hand, and denied succor by the neighboring English of Jamaica on the other. It took but a few months before the remnants of the colony, diminished by disease and misfortunes, sailed away as best they could. A succoring but belated accession of recruits, with some, though inadequate, supplies, came to make another trial on the deserted ground ; but these were in due time starved into surrender by the Spaniards, and allowed to depart, enfeebled and dismayed. So the project that teemed with promise to the unsuspecting came to a miserable end, as did another, some years later, — the notorious South Sea scheme, which used but as a pretext the trade of the South Sea to sustain it.[1] The



THE ISTHMUS, 1699.*

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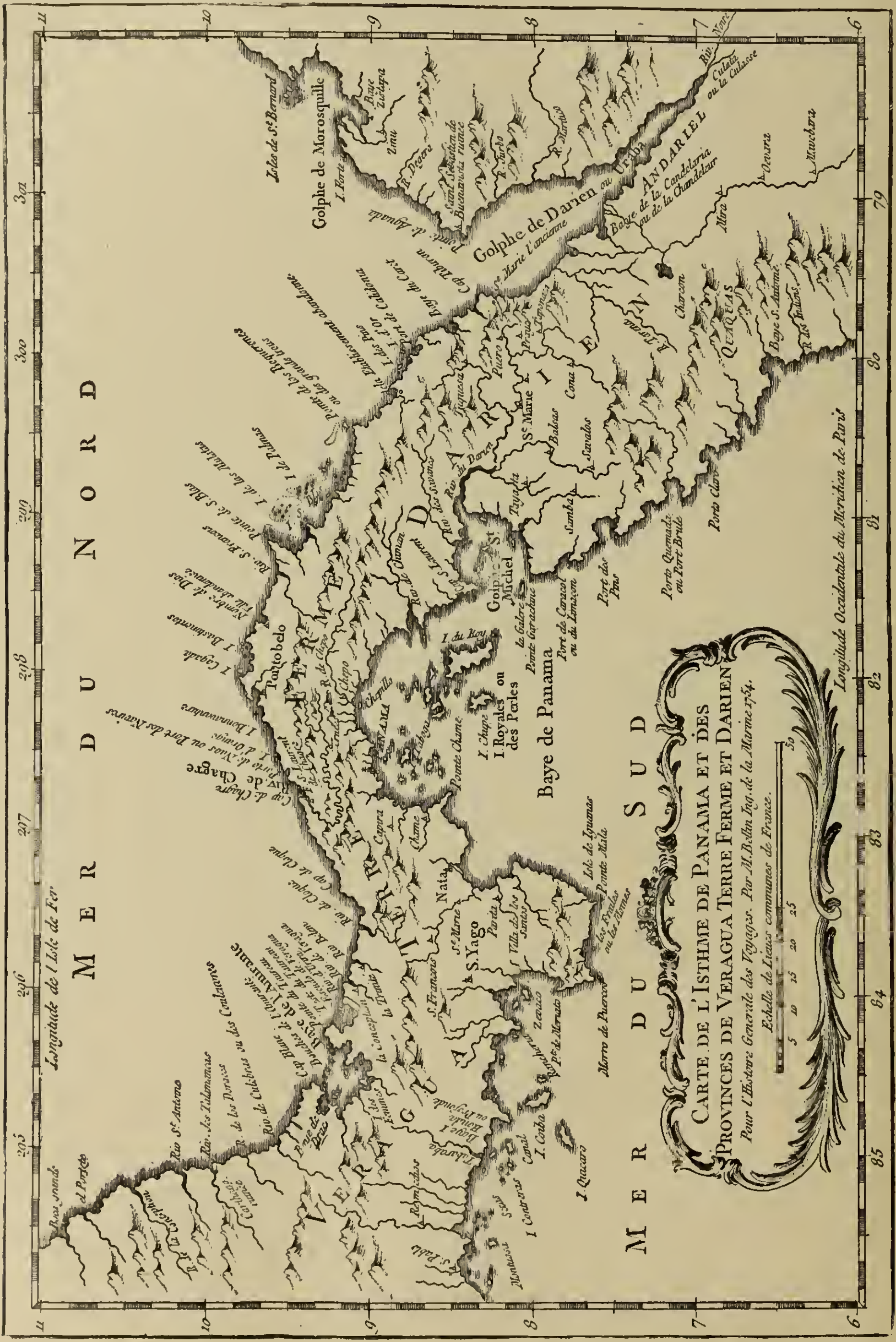
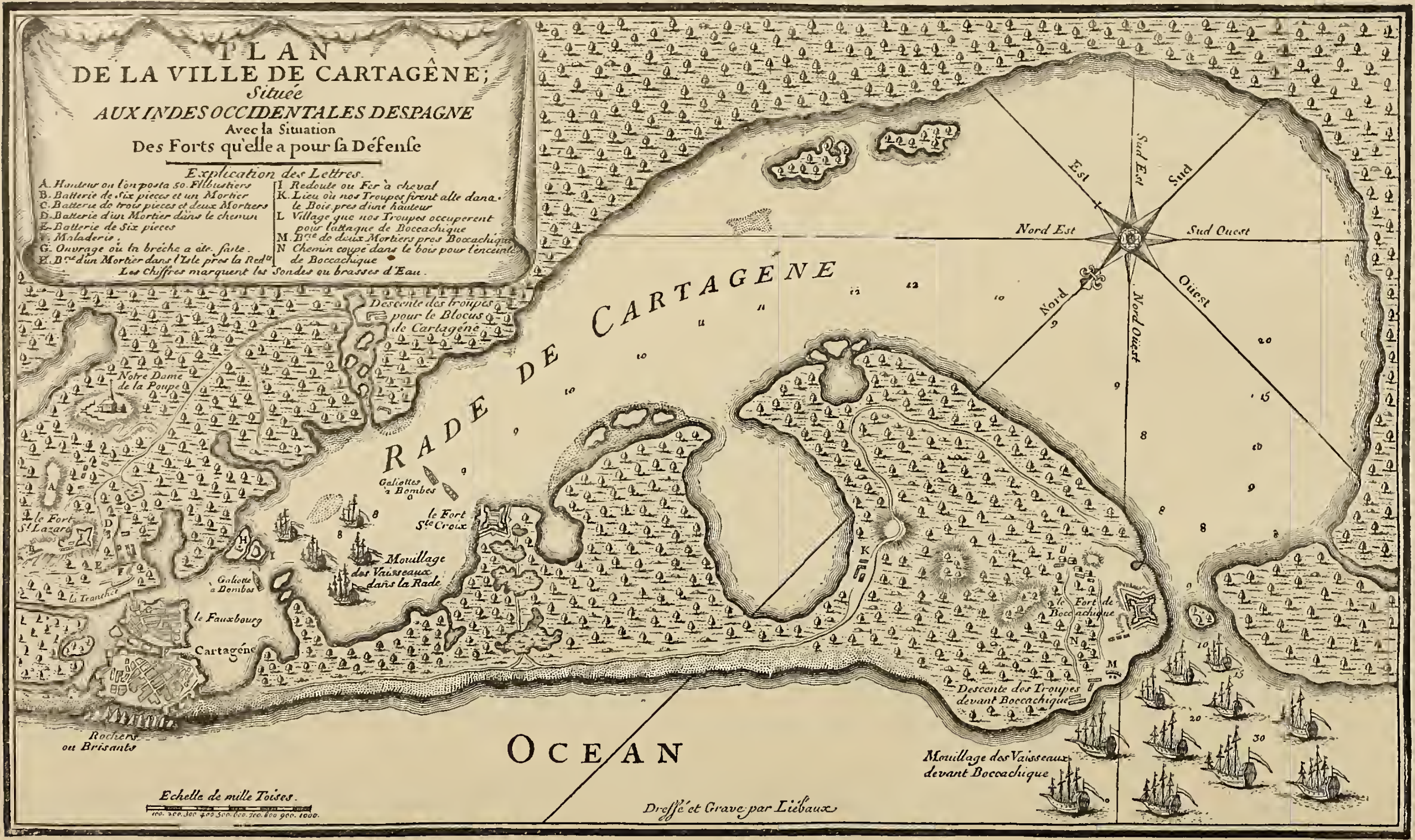
[1] The literature of this subject, by virtue of its business name and of the single ship which performed the voyage, is still made a conspicuous class in the collector's library of Americana.

* From Lionel Wafer's *New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London, 1699).

Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the later war with Spain were but some of the causes which, by abridging the chances for gain, imperilled the plans of its directors still later.


CARTE DE L'ISTHME DE PANAMA ET DES PROVINCES DE VERAGUA TERRE FERME ET DARIEN
Pour l'Histoire Generale des Voyages. Par M. Bellin Ing. de la Marine 1754.
Echelle de Lieues communes de France.
MER DU NORD
MER DU SUD
Baye de Panama
Golphe de Darien
Golphe de Morosquille
Portobelo
Riv. de Chagre
Golphe St. Michel
I. Royales ou des Perles
DARIEN
TERRE FERME
VERAGUA
Nata
S. Yago
Longitude de l'Isle de Fer
Longitude Occidentale du Meridien de Paris

NOTE. — Reduced from Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii. Cf. *Ibid.* xiii. 243, and *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xv.


PLAN
DE LA VILLE DE CARTAGÊNE;
Située
AUX INDES OCCIDENTALES DESPAGNE
Avec la Situation
Des Forts qu'elle a pour ſa Défenſe
Explication des Lettres.
A. Hauteur ou l'on posta 50. Flibustiers
B. Batterie de Six pieces et un Mortier
C. Batterie de trois pieces et deux Mortiers
D. Batterie d'un Mortier dans le chemin
E. Batterie de Six pieces
F. Maladerie.
G. Ouvrage où la brèche a été faite.
H. Bie d'un Mortier dans l'Isle pres la Redte
I Redoute ou Fer à cheval
K. Lieu où nos Troupes firent alte dans le Bois pres d'une hauteur
L Village que nos Troupes occuperent pour l'attaque de Boccachique
M. Bie de deux Mortiers pres Boccachique
N Chemin coupé dans le bois pour l'enceinte de Boccachique
Les Chiffres marquent les Sondes ou brasses d'Eau.
Descente des troupes pour le Blocus de Cartagêne
RADE DE CARTAGÊNE
Notre Dame de la Poupe
le Fort St. Lazare
la Tranchée
Galiotte a Bombes
Galiottes a Bombes
le Fort Ste. Croix
Mouillage des Vaisseaux dans la Rade
le Fauxbourg
Cartagêne
Rochers ou Brisants
OCEAN
Nord
Nord Est
Est
Sud Est
Sud
Sud Ouest
Oüest
Nord Oüest
le Fort de Boccachique
Descente des Troupes devant Boccachique
Mouillage des Vaisseaux devant Boccachique
Echelle de mille Toises.
100. 200. 300. 400. 500. 600. 700. 800. 900. 1000.
Dreſſé et Gravé par Liébaux

CAPTURE OF CARTAGENA, 1697. (*Note*, p. 244.)

The treaty which England, France, and Spain made at Seville in 1729, wherein they covenanted for mutual forbearance and protection, was not enough to prevent capture and retaliation among their respective marines in these treacherous waters. England seemed the greater sufferer, and Spain, forced to a promise of indemnity, failed in the obligation, and a British fleet was sent to the scene. This was in 1739, and Admiral Edward Vernon was in command. He attacked Porto Bello and captured it,[1] and then assailed the castle of San Lorenzo, at the mouth of Chagres River, which had been rebuilt since Morgan destroyed it in 1671. His attempt to reduce Cartagena failed.[2] Commodore George Anson, in another fleet, had been sent round to the Pacific to coöperate beyond the Isthmus, but hearing on the South American coast of the repulse of Vernon at Cartagena, Anson steered for Manilla, and reached England by the Cape of Good Hope in 1744.

If the Scots had not got their hoped-for commercial vantage from possessing the Isthmus route, the events we have been following, by increasing the hazards of the transit and approach, sensibly affected its value to the Spaniards, and the commercial importance of this route steadily declined.

The local annals of the southern provinces are not free from a monotonous flow of events that mean little to the foreigner, though Guatemala had grown to be the city of the most importance after Mexico in Spanish America; and this in spite of the many earthquakes which in succession nearly destroyed it, noticeably those of 1751, 1757, and 1765, and finally that of 1773, which induced its people to seek a safer site for their habitations.

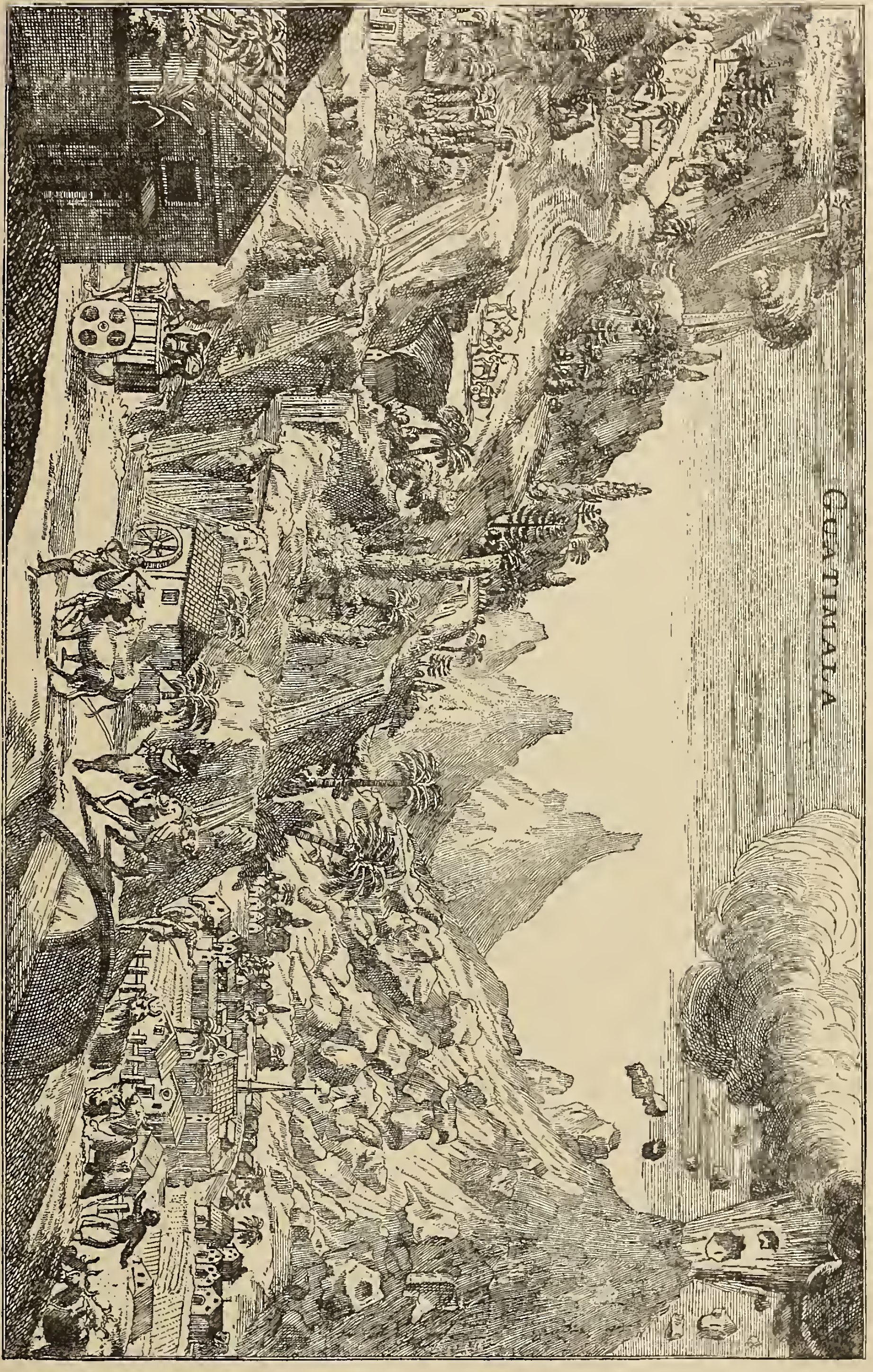
In the last days of the Spanish rule, the same spirit that fired the priest of Dolores, farther north, raised counter-movements in these southern districts, and Dambrini essayed, but ineffectually, to fall upon the rear of Morelos. By equal steps, independence came at last to the south as to the north, and for a while these lower provinces were a part of the Mexican government, — not, indeed, with full assent, for there were some regions that the fair promises of Iturbide did not stir with enthusiasm, and Costa Rica kept herself aloof. Such union as there was with Mexico lasted fifteen months, after which the Central American Confederation had its own constitutional government. The period which followed was characterized in part by the ins and outs, the ups and downs, of civil war, ending with a dissolution of the union, with each separate state left to the perils of internecine war, varied with reciprocal distrust and reprisal.

Cf. *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, sub 1711–20. See the account in Ewald's *Sir Robert Walpole*, ch. 5.

[1] His maps are noted in the *King's Maps in the British Museum*, ii. 201. Cf. Vernon's *Original Papers relating to the Expedition to Panama* (London, 1744), and the *New Hist. of Jamaica* (London, 1740; Dublin, 1741; French transl., London, 1751).

[2] See *post*, ch. 5.

NOTE TO MAP ON THE PRECEDING PAGE. — From Oexmelin's *Avanturiers Flibustiers* (Trevoux, 1744), vol. ii. For other plans, mainly in connection with Vernon's expedition in 1740, see a later page.



NOTE. — From Gage's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1720), vol. ii. Sanson's map of the Audience de Guatemala is also in *Ibid.* vol. ii.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE bibliography of the history of Spanish North America subsequent to the period of the Conquest[1] is best represented in the lists which are prefixed to H. H. Bancroft's histories of *Central America*, *Mexico*, *California*, and *North Mexican States.* At the present writing, other volumes of the series touching this territory have not yet appeared. These lists necessarily duplicate one another somewhat, and include a large mass of manuscript material, particularly as regards California,[2] and still larger masses for the period since the acquisition of California by the United States.[3] They are considerably extended by the enumeration of the separate documents under their authors' names, when they make part of the great collections of published documents, like the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España;*[4] and those of Pacheco,[5] Peralta,[6] Icazbalceta,[7] the *Cartas de Indias*[8] (down to 1586), the *Documentos para la historia de Mexico* (Mexico, 1853–57, in 20 vols.),[9] Ternaux-Compans' *Recueil de documents et mémoires originaux sur l'histoire des possessions Espagnoles dans l'Amérique* (Paris, 1840),[10] and Juan Suarez de Peralta's *Noticias históricas de la Nueva España. Publicadas con la proteccion del ministerio de fomento por Don Justo Zaragoza* (Madrid, 1878), which follows an old manuscript, mainly covering the interval 1565–1589, and called *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias y su conquista, y los ritos y sacrifiçios, y costumbres de los yndios; y de los virreyes y gobernadores, que las han gobernado, espeçialmente en la Nueva España* [etc.].

The line of demarcation between the early authorities, who confined their survey of Mexican history to the Conquest and its immediate results, and those whose chronicle and commentary were extended into, for a greater or less extent, the vice-regal period, is well marked. Helps, in ending his *Spanish Conquest*[11] at the middle of the sixteenth century, says that by this time "most of the chief historians and annalists had died, and the works of those who survived were not carried much beyond that period. Nothing more is to be gained from Peter Martyr,[12] Oviedo,[13] Bernal Diaz,[14] Enciso,[15] Las Casas,[16] Garcilasso de la Vega,[17] Cortés,[18] or Gomara.[19] Herrera, writing in another age, closes his decades soon after the reconquest of Peru.[1] Remesal[2] has nothing of any general interest to commemorate after narrating the death of Las Casas, and all such writers as Torquemada[3] are merely interesting when they refer to the early periods of the Conquest. It is the same with the ecclesiastical historians, Davila Padilla, Fernandez, Gil Gonçalez Davila, Colancha, and Melendez. The lawyers, also, such as Antonio de Leon and Solorzano, have comparatively little to relate after the time of Philip the Second; and the German and Italian writers, such as Benzoni,[4] Gaspar Ens, and Levinus Apollonius, do not carry us farther."

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[1] Cf. note on the bibliography of Mexico, *ante*, II. 429. Bancroft (*Mexico*, vi. 653) characterizes the successive Mexican historians, and (p. 660) he describes a large collection of minor *Mexicana* which he has used; and he masses (p. 662) a large number of references on institutional subjects.

On the archives of the Indies at Seville, see Calvo, *Recueil des Traités* (Paris, 1866), x. 258, 313.

A considerable collection of *Papeles varios de America* (17 vols.) constitutes no. xcviii. of the *Sparks MSS.* in Harvard College library. (Cf. *Calendar Sparks MSS.*, p. 82.)

[2] Some of those derived from Pinart are enumerated in his *No. Mex. States*, p. xxxix. Quaritch recently held at £25 the following MS. in two volumes: *Resumen del Descubrimiento de la Nueva España, demarcacion y descripcion de aquellas provincias divididas en las cinco Audiencias, estados de sus Iglesias y sus erecciones, noticia de los Obispos que hasta ahora las han gobernado, con otras noticias muy importantes;* calling it "a valuable work prepared only for private use by order of the authorities, and kept in the royal archives, whence Joseph Bonaparte, during his brief kingship, extracted it. He carried the two big volumes with him to the United States, where, many years afterwards, he presented them to General Santander, of the republic of Nueva Granada. After the dispersion of Santander's library, the MS. found its way back to Europe."

[3] Cf. *ante*, II. pp. viii, 430.

[4] Cf. *ante*, Vol. II. p. vii.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. vii, 498.

[6] *Ibid.* p. ix.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 397.

[8] *Ibid.* p. viii. Cf. Bancroft, *Hist. of Mexico*, ii. 606.

[9] *Ibid.* pp. 397, 498.

[10] *Ibid.* p. vii.

[11] N. Y. ed., iv. 409.

[12] *Ante*, Vol I., Introd.

[13] He comes down to 1555. Cf. *ante*, II. pp. 343–5.

[14] *Ante*, Vols. I. and II.

[15] *Ante*, II. 98, 208.

[16] *Ante*, II. 343, and Las Casas titles in Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. p. lxv.

[17] *Ante*, II., index.

[18] *Ante*, II., index.

[19] *Ante*, II. 414.

JUAN DE SOLORZANO PEREIRA.*

It is into the collections of documents already mentioned that the official reports and the correspondence of the period beginning with the viceroys have in the main been gathered, and to these there may be added such amassments of manuscripts as Bancroft uses,[5] the accumulations in the *Boletin* of the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía,[6] the papers of Ramirez,[7] the general works of Hakluyt, Purchas, Wytfliet, Acosta (who fills out the sixteenth century in a general way), and such conglomerate treatises as those of Gottfriedt, Montanus, De Laet, Ogilby, Heylyn, and the rest.

All such descriptive material touching the laws,[8] methods of government, judicial systems, commerce, revenue and finance, agriculture, manufactures and the arts, social and military life, education, science, and literature, is classified and separately treated in distinct chapters by Bancroft, and generally with a bibliographical apparatus appended.

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[1] *Ante*, II. 67. He is scant after the middle of the sixteenth century.

[2] *Ante*, II., index.

[3] *Ante*, II., index.

[4] *Ante*, II. 346. He was in Mexico 1541–56.

[5] *Mexico*, ii. 785.

[6] Earlier known as the Instituto Nacional de Geografía, whose *Boletin* began in 1852. Cf. Bancroft's account, *Mexico*, vi. 659.

[7] Bancroft, *Mexico*, i. p. xciv.

[8] *Ante*, II. 347, 401. Cf. Bancroft's note, *Mexico*, iii. p. 550.

* After a copperplate in the 1703 edition of his *Politica Indiana*. The original edition was in 1648.

Similar material will be found in the additions which have been made to the Mexican edition of the *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía* (Mexico, 1853–55), based upon the original Spanish edition.[1]

The work of Bancroft on *Mexico*, in six volumes, is by all means the most extensive gathering of material which has been made, and he has summarized it in a popular history of a single volume, in which, however, the vice-regal period is hastily gone over. He makes a bibliographical summary at the end of the second and third volumes [2] of his larger work of the main sources of information for this period, in which he speaks slightingly of the *Los tres Siglos de México* of Andrés Cavo,[3] of the *Historia antigua y moderna de Jalapa* of Manuel Rivera,[4] and of the same author's *Historia de Mejico*,[5] criticising them all as neglectful of documentary sources, and as defective in treatment.

The history of the Church, the religious orders and missions, in Mexico is necessarily an essential part of the progress of the country. Bancroft has epitomized much of it in a single chapter,[6] and it is interwoven with a considerable portion of his book elsewhere.[7] His references to manuscript sources, like the records of the *Concilios Provinciales* and *Concilios Mexicanos*, though in considerable part in print; [8] to collections of papal bulls and other documents, also in part in type, indicate something of the restricted opportunities of a student not so well equipped as he is.[9]

The better part of the material, however, in one form or another, is in books not difficult to meet with. Bancroft in a long note [10] indicates some of the more essential printed sources for the period immediately following the Conquest, introducing us at once to the Franciscan Order, the earliest of all to appear in Mexican history. The *Historia de los Indios* of Father Toribio de Benavente, known as Motolinía, — which was left in MS. at his death in 1568,[11] and which, as well as the *Historia eclesiástica indiana* of Gerónimo de Mendieta, likewise kept for a long time in manuscript,[12] were used by Torquemada in his *Monarquia Indiana*, — eked out by his own observations over the period following the Conquest, brings the chronicle down to 1612.[13]

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[1] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 511; vi. 659. The *Liceo mexicano* (Mexico, 1844) offers a "Galería de los vireyes de México," — being memoirs of the viceroys of Mexico down to the 26th, appointed in 1673, with portraits accompanying them. Cf. Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 509, on diaries of this period; and the observations of Samuel de Champlain in his *Narrative of a voyage to the West Indies and Mexico, 1599–1602, with maps and illus. Transl. from the original and unpublished manuscript, with a biographical notice and notes by Alice Wilmere. Edited by Norton Shaw* (London, 1859); Martinez's *Repertorio* covers 1520–1590. (See *ante*, II. 421.)

[2] Vol. ii. 784; iii. 505; also vi. 654.

[3] Mexico, 1836–38, 1852, and Jalapa, 1860. Cf. *ante*, II. 428; and Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 508.

[4] Mexico, 1869–71, in 5 vols. It is mainly concerned with the modern history, comprehensive enough to be national, beginning with 1808. Cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, v. 806.

[5] Barcelona, 1877–80, in eleven vols.

[6] *Mexico*, iii. ch. 33.

[7] As on the secular clergy, 1600–1800, in *Mexico*, iii. ch. 32; and on ecclesiastical affairs, 1800, etc., vi. ch. 24, — not to mention other chapters where it is less prominent.

[8] Cf. *ante*, II. p. 399. On Lorenzana's editing of these records, see Bancroft, iii. 379. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. 1686.

[9] *Mexico*, i. p. xli; iii. pp. 724, 725, 727.

[10] *Mexico*, ii. 187.

[11] *Ante*, I. 156; II. 397.

[12] Cf. *ante*, II. 422. It was edited by Icazbalceta in 1871.

[13] Cf. *ante*, Vol. I. 157; II. 399, 421, 422; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 787, and iii 512, 722, where mention is made of other Franciscan chroniclers: Balthassar de Medina's *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico* (Mexico, 1862), with its map showing the various Franciscan convents in New Spain. He died in 1697, and Beristain gives the best list of his works. Francisco de Ayeta's *Defensa de la Verdad* (1683 or thereabouts) shows the efforts of the Franciscans of Jalisco to maintain their rights against the bishop. Bancroft (iii. 725), who cites a MS. of Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, and notes others in his list (i. p. lii), — one of which Quaritch (no. 363, of 1885, under 29,088) seems

The best known record of the Augustine order is Juan de Grijalva's *Crónica de la orden de N. P. S. Augustin en las provincias de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1624), which covers a period from 1533 to 1592.[1]

Of the Dominicans, the account by Remesal of the history of the order in Chiapas,[2] and the *Historia de la fvndacion y discvrso de la provincia, de Santiago de México de la órden de Predicadores por las vidas de sus varones insignes y casos notables de Nueua España* of Augustin Davila Padilla,[3] are the most important, the latter work giving sketches of leading Dominicans from 1540 to 1590.

There is little in the best known Benedictine work, the *Nova typis transacta navigatio* of the so-called Philoponus, to concern us in this period.[4] The Bethlehemites were not founded till the middle of the seventeenth century. and we have the only considerable account of their missions in America in the *Historia Bethlehemitica* (Seville, 1723) of Friar Joseph Garcia de la Concepcion.[5] Concerning the Jesuit missions, the two most important books are Francisco Javier Alegre's [6] *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España* (Mexico, 1841–42), in three volumes, covering the period from their establishment in Florida in 1566 to about 1765, and based so far as its scope permitted on Francisco de Florencia's *Hist. de la Provincia de la Compañia de Jesus de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1694).[7] These two works may be supplemented by the *Lettres Édifiantes.*[8]

Of the general church histories of New Spain, the places of most importance must be given to Alonso Hernandez' *Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos* (Toledo, 1611);[9] the *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias occidentales* (Madrid, 1640–55) of Gil Gonzales Davila.[10] There are helps to perfect the survey in the local treatment of Juan de Villagutierre Soto-Mayor in his *Conquista de la Provincia de el Itza* (Madrid, 1701); of Francisco Burgoa's *Geográfica Descripcion . . . de la America* (Mexico, 1674) as touching Oajaca; of Cayetano de Cabrera y Quintero's *Escudo de armas de México* (Mexico, 1746); of Matias de la Mota Padilla's *Conquista de la Nueva Galicia* (Mexico, 1870);[11] and of Beaumont's *Crónica de Michoacan.* On the course of the Inquisition there are references in Bancroft.[12]

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to have had a duplicate of, — *Bezerro general, menológico y chronológico de todos los Religiosos* (Mexico, 1755–64), which enumerates the members of the order in New Spain down to 1764. Beaumont's *Friar Pablo de la purisima Concepcion* (Mexico, 1873–74) gives the Franciscan story of the missions in Michoacan down to 1565–66. The *Glorious Franciscus* of Marianus (Ingolstadt, 1625) also follows the Franciscan missions in America, with portraits and lives of the leading missionaries. Cf. Isidro Felis de Espinosa's *Chronica Apostolica* (Mexico, 1746).

[1] Cf. *ante*, II. 399; Bancroft, ii. 189.

[2] *Ante*, II. 399.

[3] The author lived 1562–1604, and his work, originally appearing at Madrid in 1596, was reprinted at Brussels in 1625, and at Valladolid in 1634. Cf. *ante*, II. 400, and Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 512, 723.

[4] *Ante*, II. 58; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 189.

[5] Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 189. Cf. Betancur's *Regla y Constituciones* of the order (Mexico, 1751). Betancur, the founder, died in 1667.

[6] *Ante*, II. 399; Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 447.

[7] *Ante*, II. 399; Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 447.

[8] For bibliographical detail, see *ante*, IV. p. 316; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 191; and A. A. De Backer's *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagne de Jésus* (Liege, 1853–61), in seven volumes. Cf. *Apostolicos afanes de la Compañia de Jesus escritos por un Padre de la misma sagrada religion de su provincia de Mexico* (Barcelona, 1754).

[9] *Ante*, II. 399; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 190.

[10] *Ante*, II. 399, 400; Bancroft, *Mexico*, ii. 189. Bancroft also makes considerable use of Francisco Sosa's *Episcopado Méxicano*, a series of biographies, and of Andrés Perez de Ribas' *Hist. de los triumphos de nuestra Santa Fe* (Madrid, 1645). Icazbalceta has edited *Cartas de religiosos de Nueva España, 1539–1594*, in his *Nueva Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Mexico, 1886). (Cf. on Icazbalceta's writings, *Boletin de la sociedad de geografía de la repub. Méxicana*, 1870, p 642.) The new world has also treatment in Cornelius Hazart's Dutch history of the Church (Antwerp, 1667), better known in Souterman's German adaptation, *Kirchen-Geschichte* (Vienna, 1678–1701), and the clerically flavored *Histoire générale de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1768) of Touron, — both of whom are characterized by Bancroft (iii. 190, 191). Morelli's *Fasti Novi Orbis*, etc. (Venice, 1776), gives us the official decrees from Rome and Madrid respecting the American Church (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 2282).

[11] Cf. *ante*, II. p. 633.

[12] *Mexico*, iii. 701. Quaritch (Jan., 1888, no.

The history of the commerce of New Spain has been epitomized by Bancroft (*Mexico*, iii. ch. 30, etc.), and in a note (p. 645) he has indicated the main sources of his treatment, in addition to the correspondence of the viceroys. The laws and customs regulating the trade of Spain and her colonies are explained in Linage's *Norte de la Contratacion* (Seville, 1672), of which there is an English translation by Capt. John Stevens (1702). Cf. also Viscount Bury's *Exodus of the western nations*, ii. ch. 2.

The history of the Philippine trade is to be followed in an *Extracto Historial del Expediente que pende en el consejo de las indias*, etc., published at Madrid by royal command in 1736.

Bancroft (iii. 646; vi. 662) particularly emphasizes the value, in this commercial study, of Lerdo de Tejada's *Apuntes históricos de Vera Cruz* (Mexico, 1850) and his *Comercio Esterior de México* (Mexico, 1853). His survey also includes some of the general treatises on the history of commerce, like the *Origin of Commerce* (London, 1764, 1787, 1801), by Adam Anderson, a clerk of the South Sea Company, who had chances of close observation of the British operations at Porto Bello; like David Macpherson's revision and continuation of Anderson, known as *Annals of Commerce* (London, 1805); like John Macgregor's *Progress of America* (London, 1847), and G. T. Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des Etablissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Genève, 1780; Paris, 1820–21, etc.); and he closes his note with a list of minor references (p. 649).

The exploits of the English freebooters, the French flibustiers,[1] and the Dutch zeeroovers — the pirates and buccaneers of the Spanish Main [2] as they appear in history and romance — are an essential part of the history of the lands contiguous to the Gulf of Mexico during the seventeenth and a part of the eighteenth century. The earliest separate account which we have of them is usually held to be that in Kleas Compaen's *Zee-Rover* (Amsterdam, 1663), though there are earlier narratives of distinct episodes, like that in the *Discurso Politico* of Montemaior de Cuenca (Mexico, 1658)[3] of the expulsion of the buccaneers at the island of Tortuga. The events of the preceding century were also in part covered in Père J. B. du Tertre's *Histoire général des Antilles habitées par les François* (Paris, 1667–1671).

The most famous early general account of the buccaneers, however, and the source of a great variety of publications in the chief modern languages, is a Dutch publication of one Alexander Olivier Exquemelin, who is known in English as Esquemeling, and in French as Oexmelin, and who deserted the employ of the French West India Company, and joined the marauders in 1672. His book, *De Americaensche Zee-Roovers*, was published at Amsterdam in 1678.[4] This was followed in 1679 by a German edition at Nuremberg. *Americanische Seeräuber;* by a Spanish, *Piratas de la America* (Colonia Agrippina, 1681, 1682; again, Madrid, 1793); by a French, based by Frontignières on the Spanish version, and called *Histoire des Avanturiers* (Paris, 1686).[5] The earliest English

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134) held a collection of documents, many of them MS., on the progress of the Inquisition from its institution in Mexico in 1571 down. It wholly ceased its action in 1820.

[1] Derived from the English freebooter, and in turn converted by the English into filibusters.

[2] This term was applied to the northern coast of South America in contradiction to the islands neighboring to it; though sometimes later writers have used it as if it referred to the interjacent sea.

[3] With map showing the attack. Sabin, xii. 50,106.

[4] The book is very rare. Muller in 1872 had two copies, one large paper (no. 578, etc.), and he enters a copy in 1877 (no. 1090). Bancroft says Muller knew but one other copy beside his (Bancroft's) own. The Murphy sale shows a copy (no. 909*). The best bibliography of this book is in Sabin, iv. p 319. Cf. Bancroft, *Cent. America*, ii. 567. A new and much-changed Dutch edition, with a second part added from Ringrose and Lussan, *Historie der Boecaniers*, appeared at Amsterdam, 1700. Raveneau de Lussan's *Journal du Voyage fait à la Mer du Sud en 1681* (Paris, 1689; again 1692) is later, generally found in the Exquemelin collections.

[5] Again, 1688, 1699. "Corrigée et augmentée de l'histoire des pirates anglois depuis leur établissement dans l'isle de Providence," (Trevoux, 1744, 1775; Lyon, 1774) Cf. Diego Barras Arana's *Notas para una bibliografía*, no. 213.

edition, *Bucaniers of America, or a true Account of the most remarkable Assaults committed of late years upon the Coasts of the West Indies, by the Bucaniers of Jamaica and Tortuga, both English and French, wherein are contained more especially the unparallel'd Exploits of Sir Henry Morgan, our English Jamaican Hero, who sacked Puerto Velo, burnt Panama*, etc. (London, 1684), purported to be translated from the Spanish of Alonso de Bonne-Maison. We find here for the first time added to the Exquemelin text, and with a separate title, *The Dangerous Voyage and Bold Attempts of Capt. Bartholomew Sharp and others, written by Mr. Basil Ringrose, who was all along present* (London, 1685). Sharp's own journal of his expedition is also in William Hacke's *Collection of Original Voyages* (London,[1] 1699). There are numerous other editions of the English text of Exquemelin, thus augmented.[2]

During the first half of the eighteenth century, Charles Johnson's *General History of the robberies and murders of the most notorious pyrates*[3] (London, 1724, 1726, 1736; Birmingham, 1742; New York, 1724) was the most popular record of the buccaneers. The subject had been surveyed in Russell's *Hist. of America* (London, 1778), and in Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz's *Geschichte der Flibustier*,[4] before Burney made his *History of the Buccaneers* (London, 1816) a part of his *Chronological History*, etc. This last is the best of all the accounts up to that time, and still remains the chief of the later treatments on the subject.[5]

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[1] Wm. Hacke, who was with Sharp, also entered marginal notes in a MS. *South Sea Waggoner, a description of the sea-coasts on the South Sea of America, from the port of Acapulco to the Streights of Lemaire*, made about 1690, which Quaritch held at £72 in his *Catalogue*, June, 1885, no. 28,234. This MS. seems to have been bought for the South Sea Company two or three years after 1690, as appears by an accompanying letter, which describes it as "full of curious mapps and platts of ye South Seas, being ye long experience of ye famous buckanere Capt. Barth. Sharpe and of an antient French captain that hee took with his booke, mapps and papers, who used those seas 70 yeares, being all in the said Booke composed and depicted by one Captain William Hack, deceased, of whom I [Wm. Hill] about 18 years ago purchased the said booke and paid him £70 for ye same."

Cf. on the Waggoner maps in the British Museum, Calvo, *Recueil des Traites*, x. 324.

Quaritch (*ibid.* no. 28,227) held at £10 10*s.* an unpublished MS. atlas, *South Sea Waggoner, showing the making and bearing of all the coasts from California to the Streights of Le Maire, done from the Spanish originall by Basil Ringrose* (1680–85?). Cf. Bancroft, *Central America*, ii. 758.

[2] The edition of 1684 was abridged the same year, and a "second ed.," "corrected and enlarged," bears also the same date; but with a new title, though still called a "second edition," it was reissued in 1695. Bancroft, by some misconception, calls an edition entitled *History of the Bucaniers of America. From their first original down to this time. Written in several languages and now collected into one volume, containing: 1. Esquemeling's Exploits and Adventures of Le Grand, Lolonois, Bas, Sir Henry Morgan, etc. 2. The Dangerous Voyage and Bold Attempts of Capt. Sharp and others, in the South Sea. 3. Journal of a Voyage into the South Sea by the Freebooters of America, from 1684 to 1689. 4. Relation of a Voyage of the Sieur de Montaubon, Captain of the Freebooters, in Guinea, in 1695, etc. The whole translated into English* (London, 1699), the first English edition, because apparently its reissue in 1704 is called a second edition. A "third edition" is also dated 1704. A "fourth," 1741, is said to be a different translation, with new plates (abridged by H. W. Dilworth, London, 1759); reprinted as a "fifth" (Dublin, 1741). Two Glasgow editions are dated 1762, 1773. The "fifth" edition is London, 1771, and with a new title, 1774. After this Sabin despairs of a full enumeration, but cites London, 1800, 1810; Dublin, 1821; N. Y., 1826, 1836, 1840; Boston, 1853, 1856. Cf. Burney, *Chronol. Hist.* iii., and *Retrospective Rev.* iii.

[3] There was a French translation (Utrecht, 1725), and it is included in the Trevoux (1744) edition of the French Exquemelin. There is some material in the *New History of Jamaica to the taking of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon* (London, 1740; Dublin, 1741; French transl., Londres, 1751).

[4] In French (Paris, 1804); in English, translated by Geo. Mason (London, 1807). Cf. J. F. André's *Histoire des flibustiers* (Paris, 1812-13), in nine volumes.

[5] The most popular of the minor accounts are those in the Family Library, published in New York in 1846: *Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, including an introductory view of the earlier discoveries in the South Sea and the history of the Bucaniers*, and Walter Thornbury's *Buccaneers, or the Monarchy of the Main* (London, 1858). There is a suc-

The best resource we have for the beginning of the French occupation of their part of St. Kitts is Pierre Margry's *Origines transatlantiques : Belain d'Esnambuc et les Normands aux Antilles d'après des documents nouvellement retrouvés* (Paris, 1863). Belain, who was born in 1585, had established himself here, sharing the island with the English, in 1626. He and Captain Baillardel acted for a French Compagnie de Commerce, and they also took possession in 1636 of Martinique and Dominique, and Belain died the same year, leaving his nephews to gather the fruits of his enterprise.

The interest in the seventeenth-century maritime adventurers centres in the exploits of Henry Morgan,[1] and in the expeditions of Dampier and Sharp,[2] while the rovings of Woodes Rogers and of George Anson are of the most interest on the side of the Pacific.[3]

The bibliography of Durango, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and Sonora is given more extensively than elsewhere in Bancroft's *North Mexican States* (vol. i.), and a similar recourse for Texas will doubtless be found in a volume in the same series yet to be given to those regions. At the present writing (April, 1889), the last received volume of the Bancroft series is that on the history of *Arizona and New Mexico*, treated together, and he prefixes his usual list of the sources on which he has depended, the best enumeration for the student of the bibliography of this region, which is helpfully supplemented by the foot-notes throughout the volume. Being by the latest writer, with more ample resources than any other, this single volume is much the best survey of the field. He notes his dependence, among the earlier writers, upon Torquemada, Vetancurt, Mendieta, Oviedo, Gomara, Beaumont, Mota Padilla, Villaseñor, — not to name less important specific authorities, — and also upon the standard collections of documents published in Mexico and

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cinct account in Viscount Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations*, ii. ch. 3. The student can probably profit most from the foot-notes to Bancroft's treatment of the subject in his *Cent. America*, ii. ch. 26, 28, 29, 30, etc. Arber's *English Garner*, ix., has a collection of tracts relating to the pirates, 1588–1600.

[1] For his raids on the Isthmus, see Bancroft's *Cent. Amer.*, ii. ch. 28 ; and J. T. Headley in *Harper's Mag.*, xix. Cf. references in *Poole's Index* and *Supplement*, under Buccaneers and Morgan. There is much on Morgan and his companions in *A New Hist. of Jamaica from the Earliest Accounts to the taking of Porto Bello by Vice-Admiral Vernon* (London, 1740) ; and the popular story of the time is told in *Sir Henry Morgan's Voyage to Panama, 1670* (London, 1683).

[2] The best edition of William Dampier's *Voyages*, etc., is that in four volumes, London, 1729. Vols. i. and ii. have Dampier's voyages on the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and they are reprints of his earlier editions, 1697–1709. Vols. iii. and iv. contain the *New Voyage* (London, 1699, 1704) of Lionel Wafer, — who was left wounded among the Isthmus Indians, — of which there are French (1706) and Dutch (1714) versions ; the *Voyage round the World* (London, 1707) of William Funnell, who was with Dampier (1703–4) ; Cowley's *Voyage round the World* (1699) ; Sharp's expedition over the Isthmus to the South Sea, and Wood's voyage through Magellan's Straits. The *Voyages and Adventures of Captain Bartholomew Sharp* (London, 1684) is the vindication of Sharp by a friend. There are other editions of the whole in 1776 and 1790 ; and a German complete version (Leipzig, 1703, 1704, 1708). Dampier's career is pleasantly sketched in C. R. Markham's *Sea Fathers* (London, 1884).

[3] Rogers, *Cruising Voyage round the World, 1708–1711* (London, 1712, 1718, 1726; French ed., Amsterdam, 1716). An abridged edition is in Arber's *English Garner*, vol. ix. Cf. *Life aboard a British Privateer in the time of Queen Anne, with notes by R. C. Leslie* ; and the *Voyage to the South Sea, 1708–11*, of Captain Edward Cooke, who was of the Rogers expedition.

Anson's *Voyage round the World, 1740–44, compiled from his papers* [by Peter Robbins and Richard Walter] (London, 1748, 1756, 1769 ; French transl., 1751 ; German, 1749). Other illustrations of the voyage are in Pascoe Thomas's *True and impartial Journal* (1745) ; Chaplain Richard Walter's narrative (1748) ; and two books about the experiences of some of the company on board the "Wager," — one by J. Morris, *Narrative* (1751), and the other an *Affecting Narrative* (1751). A midshipman's *History of Anson's Voyage* was published later (London, 1767). Cf. *Carter-Brown Catal.*, iii. nos. 754, 791, 864, 865, 892, 923, 940, 958, 965, 1560, 1648, 1099, 1100; and John Barrow's *Life of George Anson* (Lond., 1839).

Madrid, and on that of Ternaux-Compans.[1] It is upon these collections, as well as upon the versified chronicle of one of Oñate's companions, Gaspar Villagrá's *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (Alcalá, 1610),[2] that he depends for the main thread of his narrative of the Spanish Conquest by Oñate, placed, as he dates it, in 1595-98 (ch. 6), instead of in 1591, as earlier writers, like Prince and Davis, had determined. Bancroft places more reliance upon the metric evolutions of Villagrá than they perhaps deserve; and, with the exception of some use made of them by Luis Cabrera de Córdoba in his *Historia de Filipe Segundo* (Madrid, 1619),[3] he does not find that any writer had recognized the value of this poem as an historic source till Fernández Duro, in his *Peñalosa*, gave a résumé of it in 1882.[4]

It does not comport with the condensation of the present chapter to enlarge upon the details of the many expeditions to this region, the main sources for which have been indicated elsewhere;[5] but the student of details will find them in Bancroft (chapters 4 and 5), where that writer goes over those between 1540 and 1596, and then enlarges (ch. 6) on the Conquest by Oñate, using Villagrá, as well as the documents in Pacheco's collection (vol. xvi.), and giving a map of Oñate's route (p. 123). For the period next following, 1599-1679, Bancroft (ch. 8) complains of the great lack of data, the archives at Santa Fé before that period having been for the most part destroyed in the revolts near the end of the seventeenth century.[6]

What purports to be an account of an expedition made in 1662 by Peñalosa,[7] though given by Prince in his *History of New Mexico* (1803) as a genuine recital, was exposed by Shea in his *Expedition of Peñalosa*, in 1882, as a fraudulent story, and the alleged account has been held to be simply a narrative of the Oñate expedition twisted to serve Peñalosa's purpose with the French king in his designs upon the Spanish holders of the mines. The book by Duro, already cited, also took in the same year a similar view as to the fraudulent character of this narrative, deriving the grounds mainly from the Informe of Posadas, in the *Doc. Hist. Mex.* (3d ser., iv. 211), — where, however, that document is quoted as by Paredes, a name followed by Bancroft in dealing with the matter in his *North Mexican States* (i. 386, 393, in 1884; also *No. West Coast*, 109), but corrected by him in his *Arizona* (p. 170).

Bancroft then, in subsequent chapters (9, 10), follows the story of the revolts against the Spaniards in 1680-1691, and of the reconquest by Diego de Vargas in 1692-1700, — which brought to a close the recalcitrant efforts of the natives, except in some minor instances. The later periods are not possessed of much interest, but the story, as far as it can be told for the eighteenth century, is given by Bancroft. He finds little to show (p. 307) that the commotions of the revolutionary period (1811-1821) farther south had much or even any perceptible effect in New Mexico; but it is to this time, or to the years closely following, that he traces the beginning of the Santa Fé trade, and he points out by a map (p. 331) the direction of the trail used by the merchants. Then, after tracing the current of events during the period when this region was a Mexican province (1825-1845, — ch. 14), he takes up the story of the American occupation during the Mexican war, and under the succeeding military rule (1846–1850, — ch. 17, 18), bringing down the narrative to the close of the period which it is the purpose of this chapter to cover; and of course, also, beyond to the present date.

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. II., Introduction.

[2] This book is rare. There is a copy in Harvard College library. After you have made the proper allowance for the compulsions of his metre, and for the padding of his method, his verse still remains a not unimportant illustration of the events which he chronicles.

[3] An edition by order of the Spanish government, with an introduction, was printed in four folio volumes at Madrid in 1876, etc. Cf. its second volume, pp. 679, 680.

[4] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 503.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. II. p. 503.

[6] Bancroft (p. 19), in a note, points out how the remaining records have been badly cared for even after the United States government obtained possession; though amid this loss something considerable is preserved to us in a "Carta," written in 1778 by Father Escalante, covering what he could glean from the records for the years 1680-1692, and even to 1717, if we credit to him what seems to be a continuation of his studies, both of which are printed in the *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d series, part iv. (1856).

[7] *Ante*, Vol. II. 503. Cf. J. W. Savage in *Nebraska Hist. Soc. Trans.*, ii. 114.

This Bancroft volume renders the earlier books of Davis and Prince[1] wellnigh unnecessary to the student.[2]

The first permanent settlement in New Mexico was made in 1598, but was removed in 1605 to the present Santa Fé, and not another town was founded till after the reconquest, when Santa Cruz de la Cañada was established in 1695; and the third was that of Albuquerque in 1706. It is not probable that any existing architectural structure of the Spaniards in the country dates back of 1636, if even so far back, though there may be ruins of some of the eleven churches known to have been standing in 1617, while the ruins near Zuñi are not earlier than 1629. The oldest lapidary record seems to be an inscription recently found by F. H. Cushing, recording the excursion of Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado in 1581.[3]

Of the region now called Arizona, the history is covered in the same Bancroft volume (*Arizona and New Mexico*, 1889, ch. 15, 16, from 1543 to 1845), but it is almost entirely for a long period only a record of incursions, as the Spaniards had early made in only one small section any missionary or other occupation. These sites (1768–1846), as well as the routes of the early explorations, are shown in maps (pp. 347, 384).[4]

No other portion of the history of Spanish America has been studied with the minuteness that has been given to the chronicles of Upper California in the Bancroft series. The list which is prefixed to the first volume of the *California* includes sixteen hundred titles[5] pertaining in some way to that region, down to its cession to the United States, and this enumeration is thrown into a classification, with annotations in the second chapter of the

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. II. 502, 503.

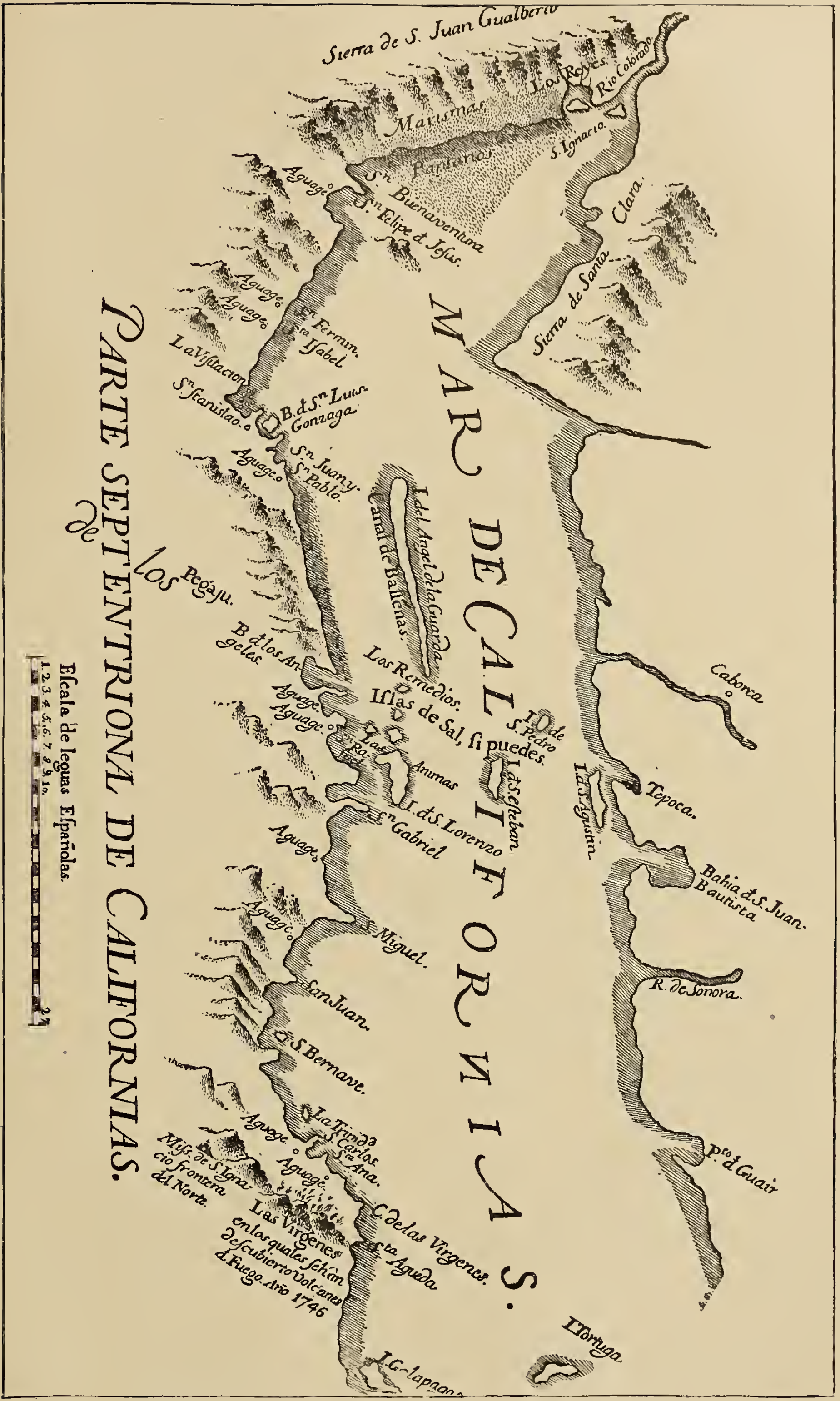
[2] Cf., however, W. H. H. Davis's *Spaniards in Mexico* (Doylestown, Pa., 1888); Wm. G. Ritch's *Aztlan, the history, resources, and attractions of New Mexico* (Boston, 1885, — 6th ed.); his *Legislative Blue Book of the Territory of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1887), with its Appendix of annals; and James H. Defouri's *Hist. Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1887).

[3] A. F. Bandelier in *The Nation*, March 28, 1889. Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 158, 790) places the founding of Santa Fé between 1605 and 1616.

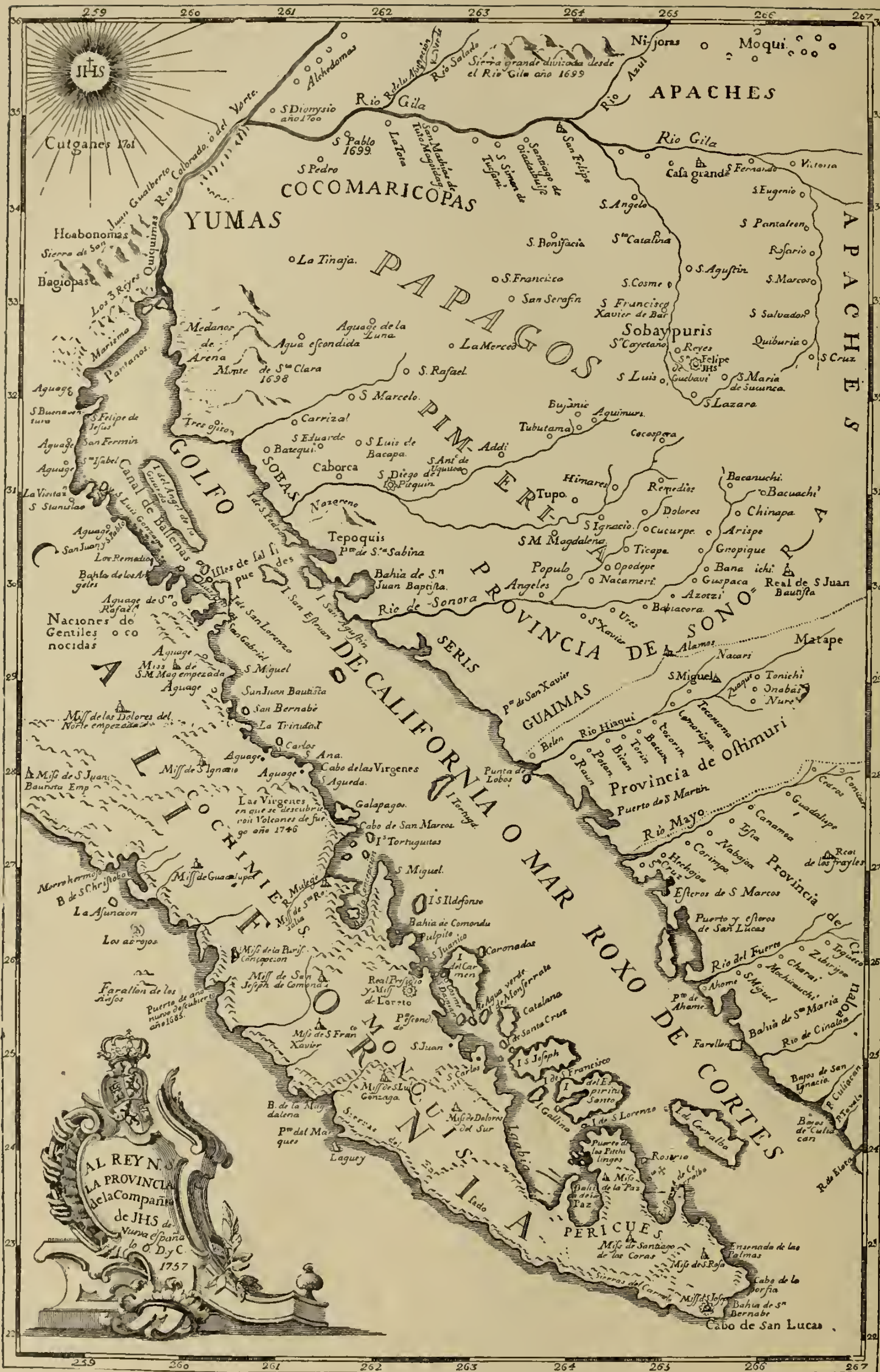
[4] Bancroft, pp. 373, 593, commemorates the few modern books, mainly concerned with the later history of the region, but touching with more or less detail, though without much research, the earlier periods: Silvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora* (N. Y. 1864, 3d edition). Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona as it is* (N. Y. 1877). Richard J. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona* (San Francisco, 1878). *History of Arizona Territory* (San Francisco, 1884). S. W. Cozzens, *Marvellous Country* (Boston, 1874). Edward Roberts, *With the Invader* (San Francisco, 1885). Patrick Hamilton, *Resources of Arizona* (San Francisco, 1884, 3d edition).

[5] It is called complete to 1848, and practically so to 1856. Reference is made to A. S. Taylor's list (1863–66) as the only one previously made (see *ante*, I. p. ix), and it is said that of its one thousand titles, Taylor could hardly have seen one in five.

NOTE. — The opposite plate shows the main portion of the map in Venegas' *Noticia de la California* (Madrid, 1757), vol. iii. Cf. Bancroft's *No. Mexican States*, i. 463. The history of the exploration of Lower California and the Gulf has been sketched, *ante*, Vol. II. Cf. explorations 1636–1769, detailed in Bancroft's *North Mex. States*, i. ch. 8. We get types of these earlier views in Pieter Goos's *Orbis terrarum nova tabula* (Amsterdam, 1666) and Nicolas de Fer's map of 1700. At this time (1698–1701) Father Kino was engaged in his explorations, which enabled him to publish a map in 1705 (*Lettres Édifiantes*, reproduced in the French *Encyclopédie, Supplement*, 1777; cf. Bancroft's *Arizona*, p. 360, and references, *ante*, Vol. II.). Consag's map (1747) was the next definite improvement, of which we see the influence in *A Map of Lower California* (1746) *improved upon Consag and embodying other observations*, in Jacob Bägart's *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel California* (Mannheim, 1772). Cf. Bancroft's *No. Mex. States*, i. 479. Still better was that published by Venegas, given herewith. Ten years later came the explorations by the Jesuits, of which we have the results in Isaak Tirion's map in the *Staat van America* (Amsterdam, 1766), vol. i. 243; the map of the Jesuits (1767), reproduced in the French *Encyclopédie, Supplement*, 1777, and Vaugondy's of 1772, in *Ibid.* There is a map in Ignas Pfefferkorn's *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora* (Köln, 1794), and many later ones. Cf. modern sketch map, *ante*, II. 485.



FERDINANDO CONSAG'S SENO DE CALIFORNIA, 1747.



MAPA DE LA CALIFORNIA, 1757.*

* Reduced from the map in Venegas' *Noticia* (Madrid, 1757). Other engravings of the same map will be found in the English (1759), French (1767), and German (1769–70) translations of Venegas. Cf. Bancroft's *No. Mexican States*, i. 471; his *Arizona*, 370.

same volume, and again with more detail in some respects in the *California Pastoral*, ch. 22.

Of the narratives or description pertaining to California previous to the Spanish occupation in 1769, Bancroft can only count eight books which supply independent information, though he gives fifty-six that, with more or less of borrowing, in some way concern the country, though of not one is that region the sole subject.

From the time when Cortés began the cartography of the Pacific Coast in his map[1] of the southern end of the peninsula of California, there is a succession of views as to its contour, based on knowledge or theory, running down the history of the region till its thorough occupation by the Spaniards. This has been traced in another volume, and it involves a series of maps from that of Castillo in 1541 down.[2]

At the time that the *Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente. Sacada de la historia manvscrita, formada en México año de 1739, por el padre Miguèl Venegas; y de otras noticias y relaciones antiguas y modernas. Añadida de algunos mapas* was published in Madrid in 1757,[3] the name of California was applied generally to the peninsula now known as Lower California, and it was under other names — New Albion, for instance, to the English — that the upper regions were known previous to the Spanish occupation, and almost wholly through the maritime explorers of the coast,[4] whose reports were embodied, more or less at length, in the great collections of voyages,[1] in the general histories of Spanish America,[2] and in the comprehensive descriptive works,[3] as well as in the maps of the professional geographers and cartographers.[4]

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[1] Cf. *ante*, II. p. 442. This map has been also reproduced on a larger scale and in colors in the *Congrès des Américanistes*, Madrid meeting, ii. 330, with a notice by Fernández Duro.

[2] Cf. *ante*, II. pp. 444, etc. The wild discussion over the supposed Straits of Anian is included (p. 455), but reference also may be made to a paper by Novo y Colson in the *Congrès des Américanistes*, Madrid, p. 122, Nordenskjöld's *Vega*, ii. 214, and a recent paper by W. Barrows in the *Mag. Amer. History*, March, 1889, on "America the world's puzzle." The discussion also involves the question of the insularity of California, which by no means confined the insularizing to what we know now as Lower California, but the island was made to extend its northern verge some distance above San Francisco Bay. One of the earliest discussions of this question was in the *Hist. of the works of the learned* (London, 1699). Cf. Sabin, viii. no. 32,728. Since the statement was made in Vol. II. p. 464, the editor has been favored by Professor C. A. Joy, now resident in Munich, with a description of the original MS. of the *Arcano del Mare* of Dudley, which is preserved in the royal library in that city. The drawn maps are in three large parchment-bound volumes, and a few of the drawings are on vellum. The collection is called *Dudleo dele 4 parti del Mondo, tom. i., ii., iii.*, and the third volume contains maps of "Henrico Hudson, 2do viago, 1613," "America Australe," "Honduras," "Nicaragua," and "Mexico." Mr. Charles A. Schott has used these maps in *Bulletin, no. 5, of the U. S. Coast Survey*, to establish the variation of the needle in 1646. From a copy of the edition of 1661 in the royal library at Munich (Quaritch, in 1885, no. 28,212, held a copy in three vols., 291 maps, at £25) photographs were taken for the use of Prof. George Davidson, of San Francisco, in the pursuit of his studies to identify the landfalls of the earliest maritime observers. He first published a summary of his conclusions in the *Bulletin of the California Academy of Sciences* (ii. 325), and then at length in his *Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America, 1539–1603*, which makes Appendix vii. of the *Report for 1886 of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey*, with a chart illustrating the landfalls of Cabrillo and Ferrelo. He places Drake's Bay under Point Reyes. (Cf. *ante*, II. 444.) The first Mappemonde engraved in Russia was the work of Basile Kiprianoff in 1707. (Cf. Labanoff's *Cartes géographiques*, no. 51.) The tracks of Russian explorations before 1763 are also shown in a map published at St. Petersburg in 1775.

[3] *Ante*, II. 461. For editions see *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. nos. 1179, 1239, 1309, 1601, 1710, 3637. The Venegas manuscripts which Father André Buriel (ed. 1762) used in preparing this work are preserved in the University library and in the college of Saint Gregory at Mexico. Leclerc, no. 1035. The Jesuit William Gordon began at La Paz in 1734, and ended at Santiago in 1737, a MS. *Historia de las Misionas Jesuitas en la California baja, des de su establecimiente [1697] hasta 1737*, which is priced in *Quaritch's Catalogue*, Jan., 1888, at £63.

[4] Like Francis Drake, Linschoten (*ante*, II. 457), Dampier, Woodes Rogers, Shelvocke, etc. Of Drake and the early books on him, and of Linschoten, there is sufficient said in another volume (*ante*, Vol. III.). Dampier's *New Voyage* was published in London in 1699–1709; Woodes Rogers' *Cruising Voyage round the World* at London, 1718; George Shelvocke's *Voyage round the World*, 1719–1722, at London, 1726.

The period of about fifty or sixty years following the first occupation (1769) of Upper California by the Spaniards, and coming down to 1824, as Bancroft divides it, constituting an era of inland exploration, of the founding of missions,[5] of the establishing of the military presidios and the civil pueblos, is covered in Bancroft's list by about four hundred titles, of which sixty are of printed books, and of these only three relate exclusively to California. The first of these is Miguel Costansó's *Diario histórico de los viages de mar y tierra hechos al Norte de California* (Mexico, 1776).[6] It is an important document for the first expedition from Mexico to San Diego and Monterey in 1769-70, as is also the *Extracto de Noticias* of Monterey, published at Mexico in 1770. The third is what Bancroft calls "the standard history of California down to 1784," the *Relacion historica de la vida de Junípero Serra* (Mexico, 1787)[7] of Francisco Palou, the Franciscan next in place to Junípero, and who acted as president at times when that important character was absent from his post.[8]

Another work of Palou, his *Noticias de la Nueva California* (1768–1783), covers the history of the missionary explorations and settlements during that period. The text is left to us in a copy made in 1792 by a royal order to preserve copies of important manuscripts for the archives of Spain. the original having disappeared from the college of San Fernando where it was deposited,[9] and where it probably shared the fate of the convent at the time of its destruction. From a copy preserved in the Mexican archives[10] it was printed in 1857 (Doyle says 1846), somewhat imperfectly, in the *Diario Oficial*, whose twenty volumes contain many other documents relating to Sonora, Chihuahua, New Mexico, and California;[11] it was also printed as a part of the *Documentos para la historia de México* (IV. serie, vols. vi., vii.), and has also been edited by John T. Doyle for the California Historical Society (*Publications*, 1874, in four volumes).[12]

As in the case of the earlier period, the published narratives of navigators who had been on the coast,[13] and the comprehensive works of some Mexican and European writers, touching America in general, or the Spanish parts of it, serve to fill out the range of material.[1]

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[1] Like Ramusio, Hakluyt, Purchas, Hacke, Saeghman, Harris, Van den Aa, Prévost and the varieties of his collection, Dalrymple, Churchill, and the later ones. See Introduction, Vol. I., *ante;* and James Burney's *Chronological History of Discovery in the South Sea* (London, 1803–16).

[2] Like Acosta, Herrera, etc. Lorenzana in his *Hist. de la Nueva España* enumerates the expeditions to California down to 1769. Other more or less comprehensive accounts of this early period are in J. G. Cabrera Bueno's *Navegacion Especulativa* (Manilla, 1734); Campbell's *Concise Hist. of Spanish America* (London, 1741), called later (1747) *The Spanish Empire in America;* José Antonio Villa Señor's *Theatro Americano* (Mexico, 1746; Eng. transl. *Statistical Account of Mexico* (1748) (cf Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 510); *Allgemeine Geschichte der Länder und Völker von America* (Halle, 1752); the *Apostólicos afanes dela Compañia de Jesus* (Barcelona, 1754); *Spanische Reich in America* (1763); *Staat von Amerika* (1766–69).

[3] Like Davis's *Worldes Hydrographical Description* (London, 1595, — of which a third copy, held at $1,000, has become known since the statement was made in Vol. III. p. 205), the *West indische Spieghel* (Amsterdam, 1624), De Laet, Davity's *Monde* (Paris, 1637), N. N's *America* (1655), apparently written to incite English encroachments on the Spanish possessions, Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (1655), Montanus, Dapper and Ogilby (cf. *ante*, IV. 390), Luyt's *Introductio ad Geographiam* (1692), and Heylyn's *Cosmography*.

[4] Like Ortelius, Mercator, Löw, Wytfliet, and Blaeuw.

[5] Cf. Bancroft's *California Pastoral*, ch. 5.

[6] An English version, *Historical Journal* (London, 1790). Cf. *California Pastoral*, p. 754, and *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. 3377.

[7] Also, Mexico, 1832, in a volume of the *Biblioteca Nacional y Estrangera*. Bancroft, *California*, i. 670, has a long note on the MSS. which he has on José Francisco Ortega, an active companion of Junípero.

[8] Bancroft, *California*, i. 418; *California Pastoral*, 754.

[9] *California Pastoral*, 756.

[10] Making vols. 22, 23 of the *Archivo general*, in thirty-two volumes, a collection of similar copies, vol. 1 of which has been lost. Bancroft, *California*, i. 419.

[11] Cf. Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii. 529.

[12] Cf. H. C. Ford, *Etchings of the Franciscan Missions of California. With the outlines of history, description, etc.* (New York, 1883).

[13] F. A. Maurelle, *Journal of a Voyage, 1775* (London, 1780, — cf. D. Barrington's *Miscella-*

The final period of California, so far as the present history covers it, and as indicated by Bancroft, is that from 1824 to the discovery of gold in 1848. He enumerates in this list 700 titles, 180 of which are books and 475 other printed matter, including documents printed in California (55 in number), beside newspapers (70) and periodicals (20).[2]

The narratives of voyages still serve us, but not so exclusively.[3] There are a few land travels, which begin to be of interest,[4] and a few of the books first printed in California, of which the most important is Figueroa's *Manifesto a la República Mejicana* (Monterey, 1835).[5] To these may be added certain official documents printed in California, some of the Mexican government and others of the United States,[6] all published in these years (1824–1848), and about one hundred and fifty titles concerning the same period, but printed later.[7]

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nies). J. D. F. de la Perouse, *Voyage autour du Monde, 1785–88* (Paris and London, 1798; Boston, 1801), with some historical material interspersed. Etienne Marchand, *Voyage autour du Monde, 1790–92* (Paris, in six vols.). Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1798; in French, Paris, 1800), with other information than his own experience. The *Relacion del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana* (1802). G. H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels, 1803–7* (London, 1813–14). William Shaler's *Journal of a Voyage, 1804*, appearing in the *American Register* (iii. 137), was the earliest extended account of California which Bancroft could find among those published in the United States (*California*, ii. 23). Otto von Kotzebue, *Entdeckungsreise in die Süd See, 1815–18* (Weimar, 1821; English transl., London, 1821), including Chamisso's *Bemerkungen*, also in the latter's *Werke*. C. de Rocquefeuil, *Voyage autour du Monde, 1816–19* (Paris and London, 1823). Louis Choris, *Voyage autour du Monde* (Paris, 1822). Some of these and others can be found collectively in the collections of voyages made by La Harpe, Berenger, Pinkerton, Kerr, etc., — as already enumerated (*ante*, Vol. I., Introduction). Cf. also the histories of maritime discovery by J. R. Forster (1786) and Burney (1803), elsewhere described (*ante*, chap. 2).

[1] Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario geog. hist. de las Indias occident.* (Madrid, 1786). F. X. Clavigero, *Storia della California* (Venice, 1789), of which Bancroft notes an English translation printed in San Francisco. J. D. Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica* (Mexico, 1792). Anquetil, *Universal History* (London, 1800). Humboldt, *Essai politique sur la royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne* (1811). R. H. Bonnycastle, *Spanish America* (London, 1818). G. T. Raynal, *Histoire Philosophique* (1820–21). Julio Rosignon, *Porvenir de Vera Pas* (Guatemala, 1861, — cited by Bancroft).

[2] The Mexican newspapers were forty in number, the Californian ten. Bancroft calls *Niles' Register* the most useful of the Eastern periodicals. Poole's *Index* and *Supplement* guide the inquirer to the periodical literature, mainly, however, of a later date.

[3] Kotzebue, *New Voyage, 1823–26* (London, 1830–31; French in Montemont, xvii.). F. W. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific, 1825–28* (London, 1831; Philad., 1832). B. W. Morrell, *Narrative of four Voyages* (N. Y., 1832). W. S. W. Ruschenberger, *Voyage round the World, 1835–37* (London, 1838). Abel de Petit-Thouars, *Voyage autour du Monde, 1836–39* (Paris, 1840–44); which Bancroft holds to be the best of the seaman accounts. Edw'd Belcher, *Voyage round the World, 1836–42* (London, 1843). Richard H. Dana, *Two Years before the Mast* (N. Y., 1840, 1857; Boston, 1873, 1880). A. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio intorno al Globo* (Turin, 1841; French, Paris, 1835). C. P. T. Laplace, *Campagne de Circumnavigation* (Paris, 1841–54). Eugene Duflot du Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies* (Paris, 1844). Charles Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition* (Philad., 1844, 1845; London, 1845). John Coulter, *Adventures on the Western Coast* (London, 1847). Sir Geo. Simpson, *Journey round the World* (Lond., 1847). Richard J. Cleveland, *Narrative of Voyages* (Cambridge, 1842; Boston, 1850).

[4] James O. Pattie, *Personal Narrative* (Cincinnati, 1833). John Bidwell, *Journey to California* (1842). Farnham, *Travels in the Californias* (N. Y., 1844, etc.). Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (N. Y., 1846). B. Bilson, *Hunters of Kentucky*, etc. (N. Y., 1847). Edwin Bryant, *Voyage en Californie* (Paris), or in English, *What I saw in California* (N. Y., 1848, 1849). William Kelly, *Excursion to California* (London, 1851).

[5] Bancroft was the first to bring these few early Californian prints to notice, the earliest of all being *Reglamento provisional para el gobierno interior de la Disputacion* (Monterey, 1834).

[6] *California Pastoral*, 759, 760; and Major Ben: Perley Poore's *Descriptive Catal. publ. U. S. government*.

[7] *California Pastoral*, 761, 762.

Frémont, who had already made an expedition westward in 1842, began a second in 1843, and was in California for the first time in 1844. Bancroft's foot-notes (*California*, iv. chap. 19), here as elsewhere, track the sources through all the varying changes, the Bear Flag revolt (*Ibid.* v. ch. 5) and the subsequent events, down to the final possession by the United States.[1]

Bancroft's first volume on *California* was published in 1884, and what had been done earlier in a general way is easily gone over. For thirty years before 1850 Bustamante had been printing his monographs, and Bancroft, who has that writer's MSS., says that these last are more complete than the printed pages. Ayala published his *Estadistica* of the Mexican empire in 1822. J. M. Burmudez's *Verdadera Causa de la Revolucion* (Toluca, 1831) threw some light on the progress of opinions in California. Alexander Forbes' *History of California* (London, 1839) was the earliest English account and one of the best.[2] The survey in Greenhow's *Oregon* (1844, etc.) extended down the coast, and something will be found in Muhlenpfordt's *Republik Mexico* (Hanover, 1844), and in F. Fonseca's *Historia general de real hacienda* (Mexico, 1845–53). In 1847 we have an early American history of the *Conquest of California and New Mexico* (Philad.) by James Madison Cutts; and in 1848 John T. Hughes first published his *California* at Cincinnati. The best Mexican account is found in Alaman's *Historia de Méjico* (Mexico, 1849–52). Shortly after the great American immigration took place, Alexander S. Taylor began his fragmentary contributions.[3] Edward Wilson endeavored to meet the growing interest in *The Golden Land* at Boston in 1852, while L. W. Hastings in a *New History of Oregon and California* (Cincinnati, 1849), John Frost in his *History of California* (Auburn, 1853, etc.), and Elisha S. Capron in his *Hist. of California* (Boston, 1854) did little more than essay to catch the curious reader. John W. Dwinelle, and a little later John T. Doyle, as is shown in Bancroft's list, did something to keep alive the local antiquarian interest. The first native chronicles of any considerable merit were Dr. Franklin Tuthill's *History of California* (San Francisco, 1866), and W. Gleeson's *History of the Catholic Church in California* (San Francisco, 1872), — the last the work of a priest who had certain advantages in tracing the story of the missions. A book by Albert S. Evans, *A la California*, was published at San Francisco in 1873. Professor Josiah D. Whitney, who had been at the head of the Geological Survey of California, furnished the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1875). J. D. B. Stillman's *Seeking the golden fleece. A record of pioneer life in California: annexed Footprints of early navigators, other than Spanish; with an account of the voyage of the Dolphin* (San Francisco, 1877), had in part originally appeared in the *Overland Monthly.*

The *History of California* (1884, etc.), by Hubert H. Bancroft, is based largely upon manuscript material not before used. He says that his collections of MSS. covering the period 1769–1848 are about eleven hundred in number, not counting minor and miscellaneous papers, and are about twice in number as compared with his printed books for the same period. Down to 1846, he considers his MS. sources superior in value to those in print. The main divisions of these manuscripts, as he says, are copies of the California Archives, 1768–1850, making 250 000 documents in all; full or condensed copies of many mission-records; public documents picked up in unofficial places, which include such papers as those of General Vallejo and Thomas O. Larkin, some of these collections being formed by others and acquired in their entirety; a large mass of single papers, consisting of diaries, journals, log-books, stray mission and governmental papers, the correspondence of prominent persons, Spanish and Mexican officials, Franciscan friars and pioneers. In addition to this, there is a large collection of narratives taken down from the dictation of old residents and pioneers, of which he considers the recitals by Vallejo the most important out of the one hundred and sixty of those whose activity was noticeable before 1848. He acknowledges that he has found much of this latter material a strange and inexplicable mixture of truth and fiction, but he claims to have guarded his narrative wherein it has been used by the corroboration and corrections of official documents.[1]

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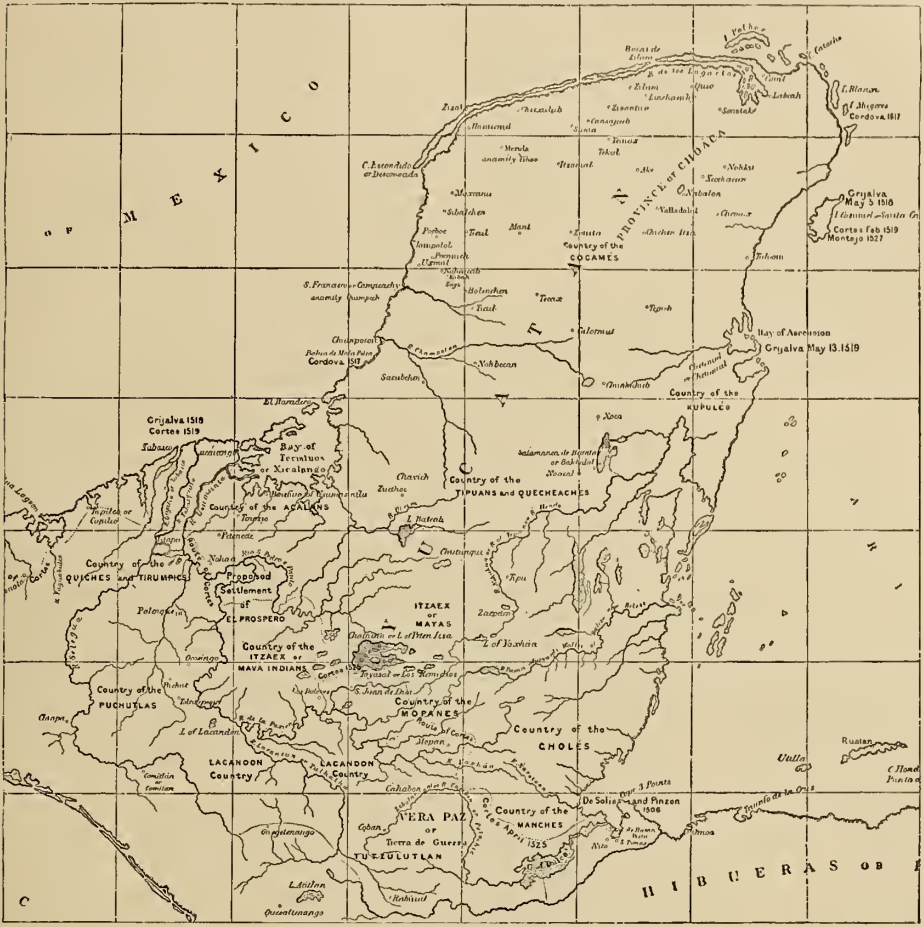
[1] Cf. particularly for sources, Bancroft's *California*, v. 187, 233, 241. Josiah Royce's *California, from the conquest in 1846 to the second vigilance committee in San Francisco. A study of American character* (Boston, 1886), is a careful study of this period. (Cf. Bancroft, *California*, v. 100.) There are references also *ante*, Vol. VII. (index). Another recent *History of California* is that by T. H. Hittell (San Francisco, 1885).

[2] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iv. 151.

[3] Cf. Bancroft's *California*, i. p. lxxxii.



YUCATAN, 1506–1700.*

There are two among the local histories which have something more than a local scope: the *Annals of San Francisco* (N. Y., 1855), by Frank Soulé and others, and John S. Hittell's *Hist. of San Francisco* (1878, etc.).[2]

The bibliography of Yucatan has been elsewhere given,[3] to be supplemented by titles in the list prefixed to Bancroft's *Central America*.[4] The *Papers relative to the rupture with*

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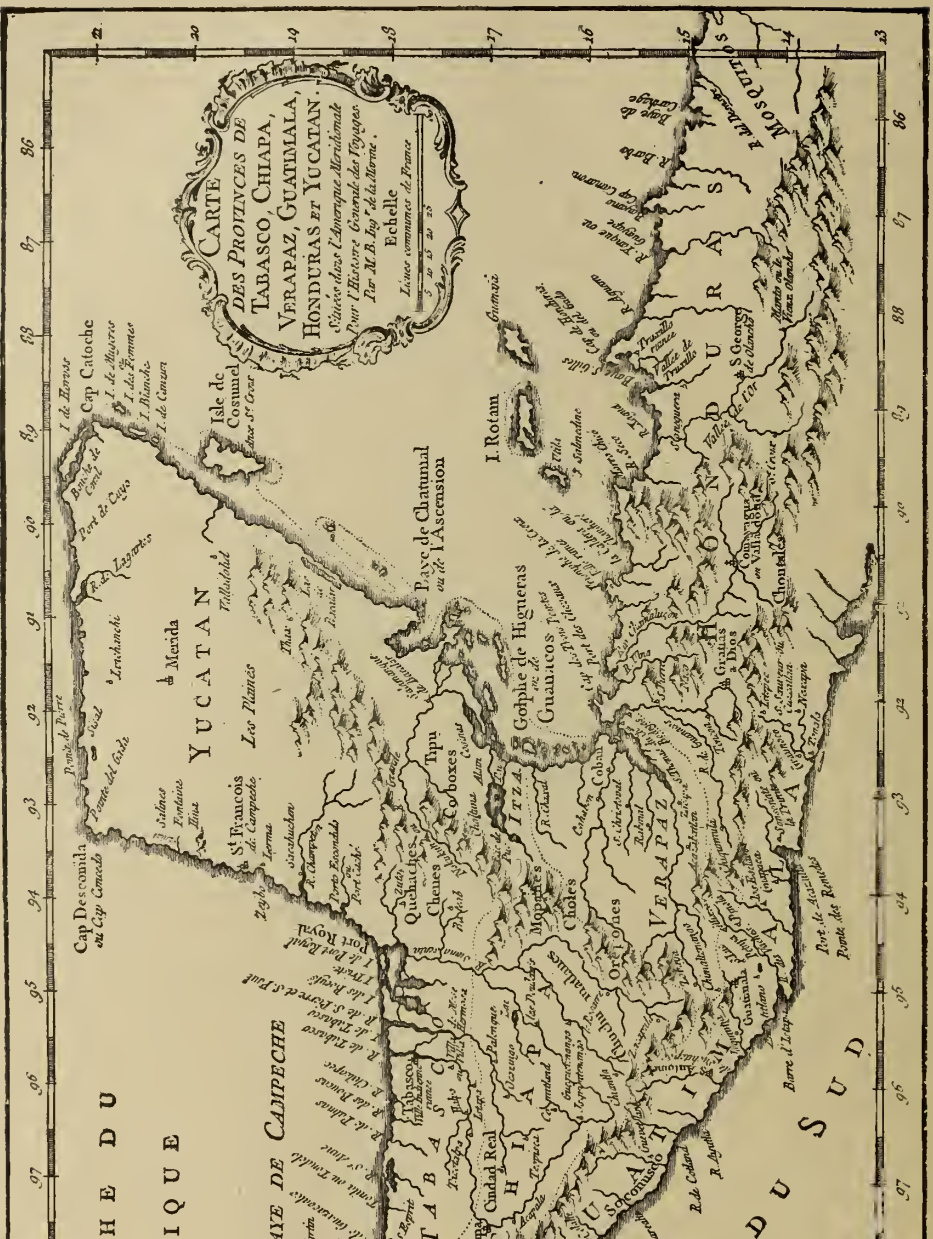
[1] *California*, i. p. viii; ix. 54, 56, 57; *California Pastoral*, 769.

[2] The various commercially prompted county histories hardly need enumeration. There are a few good local monographs: Frederick Hall's *San José* (1871); Warner and Hayes, *Los Angeles*.

[3] *Ante*, II. 429.

[4] The old *Historia de Yucathan* (1688) of Cogulludo was continued to 1650 only, and was

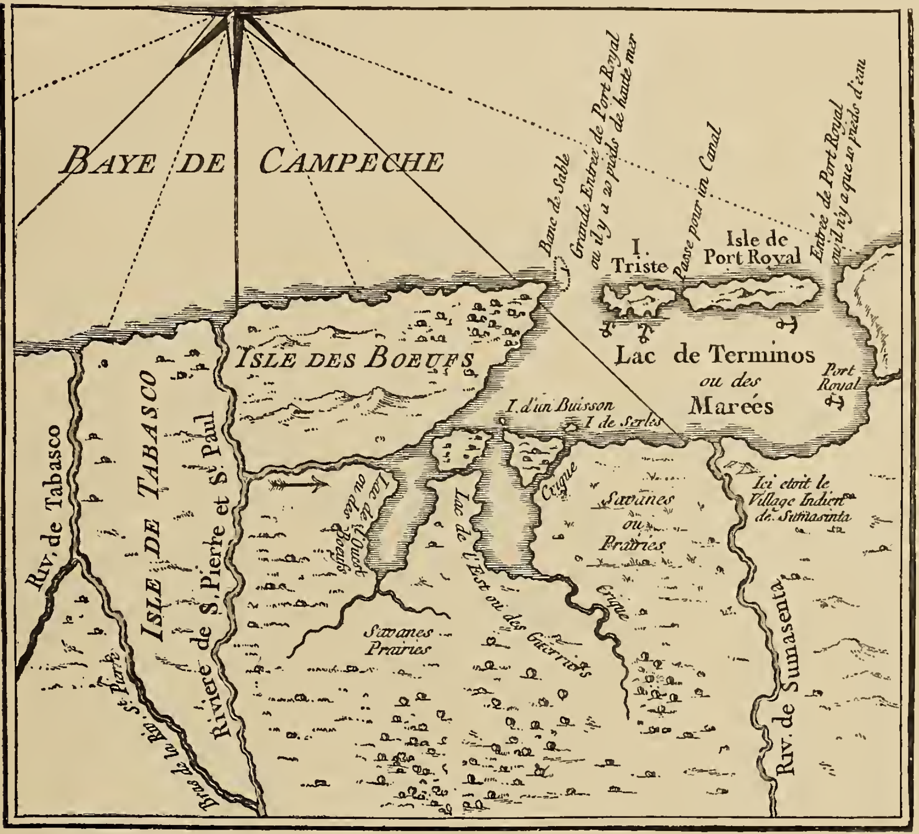
* From a map compiled by Dudley Costello, 1854, given in C. St. J. Fancourt's *Hist. of Yucatan* (London, 1854). Cf. *ante*, II. 384.



NOTE. — Reduced from a map in Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii.

Spain (London, 1672) gives the diplomatic fence between the two countries relative to the English occupancy of Campeche and Yucatan by their cutters of logwood.[1] For a later period see Serapio Banquiero's *Ensayo histórico sobre las Revolucionas de Yucatan* (Merida, 1871–72).

The bibliography of Guatemala has been already sketched (*ante*, II. p. 419), some of the works coming down to the later period; but the main recourse for titles is, as before, Bancroft's list to his *Central America* (vol. i.) and his general review of sources (vol. ii. pp. 735–762), covering the colonial period of the Central American provinces, which is mainly, however, a grouping of various published collections of voyages, which include such as touched at some point the Spanish-American coasts. The Spanish contributions


BAYE DE CAMPECHE
Banc de Sable
Grande Entrée de Port Royal ou il y a 20 pieds de haute mer
Passe pour un Canal
Entrée de Port Royal ou il n'y a que 10 pieds d'eau
I. Triste
Isle de Port Royal
ISLE DES BOEUFS
Lac de Terminos ou des Marées
Port Royal
I. d'un Buisson
I de Serles
Riv. de Tabasco
ISLE DE TABASCO
Riviere de S. Pierre et St. Paul
Lac de l'Ouest ou des Boeufs
Lac de l'Est ou des Guerriers
Crique
Savanes ou Prairies
Savanes Prairies
Ici etoit le Village Indien de Sumasinta
Riv. de Sumasenta
Bras de la Riv. St. Pierre

PORT ROYAL ET SES ENVIRONS.*

never completed as the title promised. *Los tres Siglos de la dominacion Española en Yucatan, ó sea Historia de esta provincia desde la conquista hasta la independencia* (vol. i., Campeche, 1842; ii., Merida, 1845).

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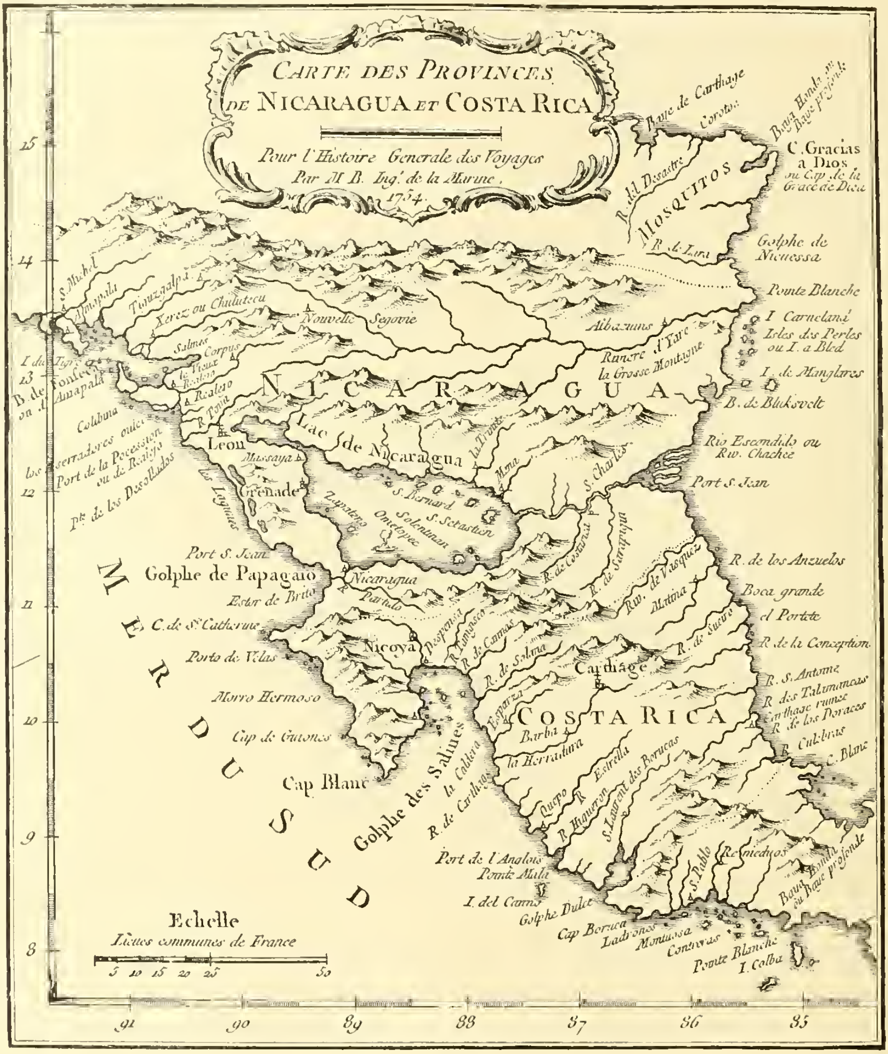
[1] The book also sets forth the French claim to catching cod on the Newfoundland banks because of early visits of the Biscayans to those parts, while the English urged the priority of Cabot (Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 2588). The question was still pending when it was settled by a convention between Spain and England, July 14, 1786, in accordance with which Faden, the English cartographer, issued a *Map of the part of Yucatan allotted to Great Britain for the cutting of logwood* (London, 1787).

* From Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii.

to this class of books are scant, and even the interest throughout Europe which instigated the allied publications of Green in England, of Prévost in France, and of the *Allgemeine Hist. der Reisen* in Leipzig had no corresponding issue in Spain.[1] This lack must be supplied by the editorial work of José Terrer de Couto and José March y Labores upon the *Historia de la Marina Real Española* (Madrid, 1849, 1854), by the voyage of Drake, by the maritime expeditions up the California coast, and by other literary aspects of Spanish-American naval history. The *Nuevo Viajero Universal* of N. Fernandez Cuesta (Madrid, 1859) covers the later times.



NOTE. — From Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii. p. 512.

The distinctive missionary efforts in Guatemala of the later period came through the founding of the Bethlehemite order in 1673, and the labors of their founder are described in the *Storia della Vita, Virtú, Donni e Grazzie del Pietro di S. Giuseppe Betancur, fondatore dell' ordine Betlemitico nelle Indie occidentali* (Rome, 1739), and the vicissitudes of the order are followed in José Garcia de la Concepcion's *Historia Bethlehemitica* (Seville, 1723).

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[1] Cf. *ante*, Vol. I., Introd.

The provinces of Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama are still best represented in the list in Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i. (particularly pp. xlvi, liv, lvii, lxv, lxxi). The early documentary sources are best gathered in the *Coleccions* of Peralta and Fernandez.[1] The descriptive travels of Gage, Coreal, Uring, and Cockburn afford us the observations of their time.[2] The latest survey of the history of the Balize is in A. R. Gibbs' *British Honduras: an historical and descriptive account of the colony from its settlement, 1670. Compiled from original and authentic sources* (London, 1883).

Macaulay, in his *Hist. of England*, gives a readable account of the unfortunate Scotch colony at Darien,[3] based largely upon the numerous contemporary publications.[4]

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[1] *Ante*, II. pp. ix, 398.

[2] Thos. Gage, *The English-American, his travail by sea and land*, first issued in London, 1648, and often later in various tongues (Carter-Brown, ii. p. 612; Sabin's *Dictionary*). François Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes occidentales* (Paris and Amsterdam, 1722). Captain Nathaniel Uring's *History of* [his] *Voyages and Travels* (London, 1726), with a map of the Bay of Honduras. John Cockburn's *A journey overland from the gulf of Honduras to the great South Sea. Performed by John Cockburn, and five other Englishmen, viz., Thomas Rounce, Richard Banister, John Holland, Thomas Robinson, and John Ballman* [etc.], *1731* (London, 1735). It was reprinted as *The Unfortunate Englishman* (London, 1740, 1779).

[3] Cf. also Bancroft's *Cent. America*, ii. ch. 31; Berthold Seeman's *Hist. of the Isthmus of Panama* (Panama, 1867); *Retrospective Review*, n. s., ii.; Burney's *Chronol. Hist. Disc. in the South Seas*; and Edward Cullen's *Isthmus of Darien ship canal; with a full history of the Scotch colony of Darien, several maps, views of the country, and original documents*, 2d ed., enlarged. [With Appendix.] (London, 1853.)

[4] *An act of the Parliament of Scotland for erecting an East India Company* (Edinburgh, 1695; London, 1695).

Act for a company trading to Africa and the Indies, June 26, 1695 (Edinburgh, 1696).

Constitution of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies (Edinburgh, 1696).

Some seasonable and modest thoughts, partly occasioned by and partly concerning the Scots East India Company (Edinburgh, 1696).

A letter from a member of the Parliament of Scotland to his friend in London, concerning their late act for establishing a company of that kingdom, trading to Africa and the Indies (London, 1696).

Two discourses concerning the affairs of Scotland, written in the year 1698 (Edinburgh, 1698); one concerns the Scots' company.

Information touchant l'affaire de Darien (1699), — the Spanish protest against the colony.

A letter giving a description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots colonie is settled, from a gentleman who lives there . . . and a mapp of the Isthmus (Edinburgh, 1699).

A description of the Province and Bay of Darien, by I [saac] *B*[lackwell] (1699).

A short account from, and description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots' collony are settled, with a map . . . according to our late news and Mr. Dampier and Mr. Wafer (Edinburgh, 1699).

Observations of a person of eminence and worth in Caledonia (*Mr. Patterson*) *written to his friend in Boston, N. E., on their Scots' settlement, New Edinburgh, at Darien in America. St. Andrews, Feb. 18, 1698–99* (Boston, 1699).

Samuel Sewall's *Letter Book* (i. 227, 242) shows a letter which he wrote to the ministers of the colony, and also the Latin contract of surrender later imposed upon the colonists by the Spaniards.

The humble address to his majesty, 12th Feb., 1699 (London, 1699).

Letter from the Commission of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland to the Honorable Council and inhabitants of the Scots Colony of Caledonia in America, Glasgow, July 21, 1699 (Glasgow, 1699).

A just and modest vindication of the Scots' design for the having established a colony at Darien (London, 1699).

A Defence of the Scots' Settlement at Darien, with an Answer to prove that it is the Interest of England to join with the Scots and protect it; to which is added a Description of the Country, and a Particular Account of the Scots' Colony (Edinburgh, 1699).

The Defence of the Scots' Settlement at Darien answered Paragraph by Paragraph, by Philo-Britain (1699).

A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien (*where the Scots' Colonie is settled, from a gentleman who lives there at present*) *with an account of the Fertilness of the Soil, the Quality of the Air, the Manners of the Inhabitants, and the Nature of the Plants and Animals, &c., and a particular Map of the Isthmus and Entrance to the River of Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699).

There have been published of late years two considerable repositories of documentary material respecting the revolutionary period of the Spanish-American provinces. The first of these is Juan E. Hernandez y Dávalos' *Coleccion de documentos para la historia*

The history of Caledonia, or the Scots' colony in Darien in the West Indies: with an account of the manners of the inhabitants and riches of the country (London, 1699).

A short and impartial view of the manner and the occasion of the Scots' colony coming away from Darien (1699).

A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien, including an answer to the Defence of the Scots settlement there (1700).

An Enquiry into the causes of the miscarriage of the Scots colony; or an answer to a libel intituled a Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien (Glasgow, 1700).

A short vindication of Phil. Scot's Defence of the Scots' abdicating Darien (London, 1700).

Scotland's present duty: or a Call to the nobility . . . to be duly affected with and vigorously to act for our common concern in Caledonia, as a means to enlarge Christ's kingdom (1700).

Scotland's right to Caledonia (formerly called Darien), and the legality of its settlement, asserted in three several memorials presented to his majesty in May, 1699 (1700).

Scotland's Grievances relating to Darien (1700).

Certain propositions relating to the Scots plantation of Caledonia (Glasgow, 1700).

Caledonia, or the Pedlar turn'd merchant. A tragi-comedy as it was acted by his majesty's subjects of Scotland in the King of Spain's Province of Darien (London, 1700).

A full and exact collection of all the considerable addresses, memorials, petitions, answers, proclamations, letters, and other public papers, relating to the Company of Scotland, 1695–1700 (1700). This contains the proclamations of Bellomont at New York and Boston, and of the governors of Barbadoes and Jamaica against the colony.

The original papers and letters relating to the Scots' company trading to Africa and the Indies, from the memorial given against their taking subscriptions at Hamburgh by Sir Paul Ricaut to their last address sent up to his majesty in Dec., 1699. Faithfully extracted from the Companies Books (1700).

A Speech in Parliament on the 10th January, 1701, by the Lord Belhaven, on the affairs of the Indian and African Company and its Colony of Caledonia (Edinburgh, 1701).

An Enquiry into the Caledonian project, with a defence of England's procedure (London, 1701).

A new Darien artifice laid open, in a notable instance of Captain Maclean's name being used to vouch for the Caledonian Company (London, 1701).

A choice collection of papers relating to state affairs during the late Revolution, etc. (London, 1703).

Speeches by a member of the Parliament, which began at Edinburgh the 6th May, 1703 (Edinburgh, 1703).

Account of a conversation concerning a right regulation of governments for the common good of mankind (Edinburgh, 1704).

A Collection of State Tracts (London, 1705–7), vol. iii.

A full and exact account of the Proceedings of the court of directors and council-general of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies (London, 1706).

Representation of the Council and Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies (Edinburgh, Nov. 7, 1706).

A letter concerning the union with relation to trade from several Scots gentlemen, merchants in England, to their countrymen in Scotland (London, 1707).

A state of Mr. Paterson's claim upon the equivalent, with original papers and observations relating thereto (London, 1712).

Report of the committee upon the petition of William Paterson, Esq. (1712).

An account of the Colony of Darien, with a Vindication of King William's honor and justice therein, included in *Memoirs of North Britain* (London, 1715).

Rev. Francis Borland's *Memoirs of Darien . . . with an account of the attempts of the Company of Scotland to settle a colonie in that place. Written in 1700 while the author was in the American regions* (Glasgow, 1715, 1779).

Part of a *Journal kept from Scotland to New Caledonia in Darien, with a short account of the country, by Dr. Wallace*, included in *Miscellanea Curiosa*, 2d ed., revised by W. Derham (London, 1723–27; 3d ed., 1726–27).

Dr. Houstoun's *Memoirs of his own life-time* [with] the *Scotch settlement at Darien* (London, 1747), repeated in *The Works of James Houstoun, M.D.* (London, 1753).

Darien papers: being a selection of original letters and documents relating to the establishment of a colony at Darien by the Company of Scotland, 1695–1700 (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1849).

J. H. Burton's *Narrative of Criminal trials in Scotland* (London, 1852).

The principal sources of the bibliography of the Darien colony are Sabin's *Dictionary*, v.; *Carter-Brown Catal.*, ii., iii.; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, sub *Darien*, etc. There are several lives of William Paterson (cf. Allibone, ii.). Cf. Eliot Warburton's *Darien, or the Merchant Prince*, for an historical romance.

de la Guerra de Independencia de México de 1808 á 1821 (Mexico, 1877, etc.), which has been the work for thirty years of a treasury clerk. The second is Emilio del Costillo Negrete's *México en el Siglo xix.* (Mexico, 1875, etc.), in which the historical narrative is broken by documentary material.[1] Reference may also be made in the *American Monitor*, a periodical devoted to South American affairs (London, 1824–25), and to *El Repertorio Americano* (Londres, 1826–27), in four volumes.

LÚCAS ALAMAN.*

Bancroft, in working up the most complete account which we have in English of this later period, and of the succeeding constitutional period, finds the works of Lúcas Alaman the most important contribution which any Mexican historian has made. Alaman was a youth of sixteen when he witnessed the fall of Iturrigaray in 1808, and he was present at Guanajuato during the memorable scenes of 1810. As he went to Spain to pursue his studies in 1814 and remained there till 1820, he had no personal contact with the events of that interval; but he had a half-brother, a canon of Mexico, Dr. Arechederreta, who kept a diary in that city from 1811 to 1820, and this document was of much use to Alaman in his historical work, which is republican rather than democratic in its tone.[2] As a member of the Ateneó Mexicana, he had begun his Mexican studies and gathered the results in his *Disertaciones sobre la historia de la República Mexicana, desde la*

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[1] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iv. 624–25.

[2] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iv. 823, for references.

* Frontispiece of his *Historia de Méjico* (Mexico, 1849), vol. i.

Conquista hasta la independencia (Mexico, 1844–49, in three volumes), which proved a preparation for his elaborate *Historia de Méjico desde los primeros movimientos que prepararon su Independencia en el año 1808 hasta la época presente* (Mexico, 1849–52), in five volumes. Alaman survived its completion only to June 2, 1853, when he died. The book is in the main one of scholarly impartiality, though he manifests little regard for revolutionary excesses, and is inclined to belittle the actions of those not of pure Spanish blood. His appendixes are fortified with documentary proofs, which he obtained in large part from the public archives. He stopped short of his promised end, and finished his work with the events of 1830.

Little of a similar conspicuous character belongs to the *Méjico y sus revoluciones* (Paris, 1836) of José Maria Luis Mora, likewise a native Mexican. He was thirty-six when in 1830 he set himself to his task, and conducted it in a not very orderly manner as to the arrangement of his periods, his first volume, for instance, describing the Mexico of his day, the second never appearing at all; the third goes over the history of Mexico from the Conquest to 1810, and volume four covers the opening years of the conflict under Hidalgo and the early patriots. Some of the later periods, however, find elucidation in his political papers which appeared in his *Obras Sueltas* (Paris, 1837).

The student of the history of Mexico hardly confronts a more prominent name than that of Cárlos Maria Bustamante. He has done good work as an editor in publishing a variety of the early writers; and as a commentator on the political events of his own day (born in 1774, he died in 1848), he has left a great mass of publications, somewhat ephemeral often, but warmly expressive, and touched, however wildly at times, with an historian's instinct. Perhaps the best enumeration of his writings is in the list of authorities in Bancroft's *Mexico*,[1] where a considerable quantity of his MSS. is noted as having fallen into Bancroft's hands.[2] Bustamante's fervid nature almost necessarily carried him over to the revolutionists when the crisis came in 1810. He organized a regiment under Morelos, and published his *Campañas del Gen. F. M. Calleja* in 1828; but his activity and criticism were best in other fields than military ones, and he experienced the trials and privations of a political outlaw before the completed revolution in 1821 suffered him to return to the capital, from which he had been excluded for nine years, only in due time to be imprisoned by Iturbide, and to be released upon that emperor's fall.

It was in the heat of the early days of the revolution that he began to make that record of its progress which was later published as his *Cuadro histórico de la revolucion de la América Méxicana, Comenzada en 1810*, in six volumes, between 1823 and 1832. The book, written from time to time as material accrued, is somewhat disjointed, and his variable states of mind as he went on make the book a rather curious study of a nature unstable, if not at times almost thrown off its balance, — all of which perturbations enable Lorenzo de Zavala, in his *Ensayo histórico de las revoluciones de Megico* (Paris, 1831), to accuse Bustamante of many slips and perversions, to say nothing of darker charges, which Bustamante was not slow in resenting. His sixth volume seems to have been suppressed, or at least it was not included in the "Segunda edicion aumentada," which appeared in five volumes in 1843–46. Bancroft's list (*Mexico*, i. p. xxxiii) shows a volume of MSS. which he says was intended by Bustamante to continue his *Cuadro histórico;* but he does not inform us whether it contains the matter which Bustamante included in what he published as a continuation, his *História del Emperador D. Augustin de Iturbide* (Mexico, 1846).[3]

Bancroft gives in no one place the bibliography of the revolutionary period of the North

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[1] Vol. i. pp. xxxii, etc.; and some characterizations, v. 804; where also he cites (p. 806) the account of Bustamante in Manuel Larrainzar's *Algunas ideas sobre la historia.*

[2] Bustamante's diary, which was the basis of much of his printed works on contemporary events, was placed by him in the college at Zacatecas. His other MSS. fell into the charge of Andrade, Maximilian's collector; and when that emperor was shot, the collection was carried to Europe and sold, when Bancroft bought most of the MSS. (*Mexico*, v. 806).

[3] Bancroft, *Mexico*, iv. 825; v. 804.

American Spanish provinces, but the titles are included in the lists in the first volumes of his *Mexico* and *Central America*, and at intervals in the progress of the movements he gives long notes to the matter, as for instance where (*Mexico*, iv. 64) he discusses the mass of contemporary publications on the deposing of Iturrigaray. Of this last kind, the books of Juan Lopez Cancelada, the editor of the *Gazeta de México*,[1] and among them chiefly his *Verdad Salida y Buena Fé guardada* (Cadiz, 1811), which was answered in a vindication of Iturrigaray by José Beye de Cisneros, and in Cancelada's reply, *Conducta del Exmo. Senor Iturrigaray* (Cadiz, 1812), we find the chief official documents on the fall of that ruler. He found another defender in Servando Tereso Mier y Guerra (*pseud.* José Guerra), who, having narrowly escaped arrest, fled to London and there published in 1813 his *Historia de la Revolucion de la Nueva España* (1808–1813), in which, while he defended Iturrigaray, he bitterly denounced Cancelada. He continued the story of the revolution down to the date of publication, and depended largely for the material for the period subsequent to his own escape upon the documentary evidence. As Mier went on in his narrative he swung to the republican side, and made Hidalgo his hero, which led to the distrust of Mier by Iturrigaray, so that, his allowance being stopped, he was put to straits. But a few copies of his book were distributed, as the bulk of the edition was lost on a vessel bound to Buenos Ayres.[2] Bustamante's *Martirologio de algunos de los primeros insurgentes* (Mexico, 1841) is concerned with the revolutionary and later careers of those implicated against the viceroy in 1811.

Bancroft points out the difficulty of securing from contemporary documents very trustworthy testimony of the career of Hidalgo. The press was in the hands of the royalists, and did not hesitate to circulate false statements for political effect.[3] Hidalgo's period has been treated among later writers in a single volume which was published of the *Memorias para la historia de las Revoluciones de México* (Mexico, 1869) by Anastacio Zerecero, a violent advocate of the revolution. Of the more comprehensive writers notice will be given later.

The earliest account of Mina's expedition in 1817 is in William Davis Robinson's *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution*,[4] in which the author made use of the journal of Brush, the commissary-general of Mina. Robinson knew the field, and had had some experience with Spanish methods in trading operations that brought him into the custody of the law, from which he escaped to tell all he could to injure the Spanish name. Some part of his denunciation was omitted in the Spanish translation, and Bustamante finds not a little to refute and something to add. Bancroft (*Mexico*, iv. 686) tells how he has collated the rival accounts, and gathered other details from different sources, in the account which he gives of the expedition (*Ibid.* iv. ch. 28).

The literature illustrative of the Iturbide period is extensive, and naturally groups itself round his own *Memoirs*, which, with an appendix of documents, was published in London in 1824.[5] Beside the *Historia* of Bustamante, elsewhere mentioned, we have the *Iturbide* of Cárlos Navarro y Rodriguez (Madrid, 1869), a Spanish and monarchical view, and the *Apuntes históricos sobre D. Augustin Iturbide* of José Ramon Malo (Mexico, 1869), a companion of the emperor, and prompted to say what he could in his defence, as does José Joaquin Pesado in his *El libertador de México* (Mexico, 1872). When Iturbide's remains were removed in 1838 to the Cathedral in Mexico, José Ramon Pacheco made the *Descripcion de la Solemnidad* (published by order of President Herrera, Mexico, 1849) the vehicle of an interpretation of such a patriotic intent of Iturbide as was hardly recognized in nis day.

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[1] Bancroft speaks of Diaz Calvillo's *Noticias para la Historia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* (Mexico, 1812) as an emphasized rescript of the versions of events given in the *Gazeta* (*Mexico*, iv. 374). On the opposing journalistic phases of the movement in Spain at this time, see *Ibid.* iv. 450.

[2] Bancroft's *Mexico*, iv. 452.

[3] *Mexico*, iv. 287, where he gives a long list of miscellaneous references.

[4] Philad., 1820; London, 1821; in Spanish, London, 1824.

[5] Cf. *Mémoires autographes* (Paris, 1824), and *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Leipzig, 1824).

For the period following the consummation of the movement for independence, and through all the revolutionary changes, Bancroft's foot-notes still are the completest record of sources, and he occasionally masses his references, as in vol. v., pp. 67, 147, 249, 285, 344, etc.

The condition of Mexico since its independence was confirmed has been the subject of a few books of good character, which may supplement the story in Bancroft. Such are the *Mexico* of H. G. Ward (London, 1829), who was the representative of England in the capital in 1825–27; Brantz Mayer's *Mexico as it was and as it is* (Philad. 3d ed., 1847), Mr. Mayer having been the secretary of the American legation, 1841–42; the *Die äusseren und inneren politischen Zustände der Republik von Mexico* (Berlin, 1854, 1859) of Emil Karl Heinrich von Richthofen, at one time Prussian minister in Mexico, but he only slightingly follows the course of political events, giving rather a commentary on their results. The *Méjico en 1842* of Luis Manuel del Rivero (Madrid, 1844) takes that date as a point to glance back over American history, not confining the survey, however, to the later period. The revolution which resulted temporarily in the placing of Maximilian on the throne produced, and was in part instigated by, sundry publications, which for those political ends ran over the course of Mexican independence.

The period of the presidency of Anastacio Bustamante, from 1836 to the elevation of Santa Anna, is covered in a somewhat impetuous way in C. M. Bustamante's *El Gabinete* (Mexico, 1842).

The period of Santa Anna, with his ups and downs, is traversed in part (1821–1833) in Juan Suarez y Navarro's *Historia de México y del General Santa Anna* (Mexico, 1850), — the author being a partisan of that leader; and C. M. Bustamante also specially treats a later period in his *Apuntes para la historia del gobierno de Santa Anna*, 1841–44.[1]

The story of the revolution in the Central American provinces, with their later changeful destiny, is told in the third volume of Bancroft's *Central* America, with a full complement of references.

Justin Winsor

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[1] Cf. titles in Bancroft's *Mexico*, i. p. c.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH MAIN.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR.

THERE were two histories of the West Indies in the seventeenth century, not without some mark in their day. The Père J. B. Du Tertre published first in 1654 a *Histoire générale des isles de Saint Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinque*, which he later enlarged into a *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François* (Paris, 1867–71), in four volumes. The maps and plans in the work are of much interest.

The book which is usually attributed to César de Rochefort, though by some to Francisco Raymundo, and published at Rotterdam in 1658, under the title of *Histoire naturelle des iles Antilles de l'Amérique* (cf. Sabin, xviii., 72314, etc). has not escaped a suspicion of being a mere compilation, as was the opinion of Buckingham Smith. A second edition was printed in Rotterdam in 1665 (reissued with new title, dated 1716), and a third edition at Lyon, in

1667. A Dutch version, by H. Dullaert, appeared also at Rotterdam in 1662. The English translation by John Davies (London, 1666) is called a *History of the Caribby islands.* There is also much relating to the history of the West Indies in the seventeenth century in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series, vol. i.*, ending with 1660, and continued in vol. v. to 1668.

In the eighteenth century the islands were mainly viewed in a collective way according to the domination they were under. The French islands were thus subjected to examination by Moreau de Saint Méry in his *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies françaises de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1784), and a part of Raynal's well-known work was also published separately as a *Histoire philosophique et politique des isles françaises dans les Indes occidentales* (Lausanne, 1784).

R. P. J. B. LABAT
PARIS LE 6 JANVIER 1738
75 ANS
Ecrivain curieux des païs et des moeurs,
Il orne ses Ecrits des graces de son stile ;
Corrige en amusant, l'homme de ses erreurs,
Et sait mêler par tout, l'agréable et l'utile.

JEAN PIERRE LABAT.*

In the first half of the eighteenth century the cultivation of sugar in the British islands drew home capital in a large degree to what were known as the Sugar Islands, and the division of opinion as to legislation concerning them produced a mass of pamphlets.[1] Oldmixon in his compilation, *The British Empire in America* (London, 1708), had caught the popular interest; but in his later edition, in 1741, he much improved his account.[1] G. M. Butel-Dumont's *Histoire et Commerce des Antilles Angloises* (Paris, 1758; in German, Leipzig, 1786), and Bellin's *Description géographique des isles Antilles possedées par les Anglais* (Paris, 1758), with its maps, denotes the interest with which the French were watching the English development. The most considerable account, however, of these English possessions came in Bryan Edwards' *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1793), in two volumes, to which a third was added in 1801. There was an abridged edition of the first two in 1794 and 1798, and the whole was reissued in four volumes in 1806, at Philadelphia, and in five volumes in 1819, at London. A French translation appeared at Paris in 1801. The book did not fail to incite some conflicting judgments, as appeared in William Preston's *Letter to Bryan Edwards* (London, 1795). There are later histories of the islands by Captain Thomas Southey, *Chronological Hist.* (London, 1827); by R. M. Martin (London, 1836); and the *Histoire générale des Antilles* (Paris, 1847–48) of Adrien Dessalles, in five volumes. This author used material in the Archives de la Marine.

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[1] *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. pp. 137, 143, 147, 150, etc.

* From the *Nouveau Voyage* (Paris, 1742), vol. i.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.*

One of the most interesting observers of the early years of the eighteenth century was the author of the *Nouveau Voyage aux isles d'Amérique*, the priest Labat, — a book originally published at La Haye in 1724, but issued in a more complete form at Paris in 1742.[2] It has maps of the principal islands.

What is now considered the best history of Cuba is that of Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Historia de la isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1868); though Ramon de la Sagra's *Historia de la isla de Cuba* (Habana, 1831; Sabin, xviii. pp. 240–42) was for a long time a principal source. The student cannot neglect the observations of Humboldt in his *Essai politique sur l'isle de Cuba* (Paris, 1826). The lesser ones are E. M. Masse's *L'isle de Cuba et la Havane* (Paris, 1825), and M. M. Ballou's *History of Cuba* (Boston, 1854). Cf. José Antonio Saco's *Coleccion de papeles sobre la isla de Cuba* (Paris, 1858),[3] and V. de Rochas's "Cuba sous la domination Espagnole" in the *Revue contemporaine* (vol. lxx., lxxi.).[4]

The principal event of the war in 1762 was the siege and capture of Havana (Aug. 13) by the English fleet under Admiral Pococke and the Duke of Albemarle. The Spanish documentary source is a *Recueil de documents sur la Havana; Enquête faite par ordre du Roi au sujet de la prise de la Havane* (cf. Leclerc, no. 1357), and the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (iii p. 355) shows a collection of proceedings against the officers of the place conducted in 1764 The leading contemporary English historians of the war, Entick and Mante, give the details, and the official accounts of the English (being beside in the *Gazette*) may be found at the end of a conglomerate *Account of the Settlements in America* (Edinburgh, 1762). Cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xii. An *Authentic Journal of the siege of the Havana by an officer* (London, 1762) has prefixed a plan,

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[1] There was a German translation at Lemgo, 1744.

[2] There is a Dutch ed., Amsterdam, 1725; German, Nuremberg, 1782.

[3] Cf. on Saco's works on Cuba, etc., Sabin's *Dictionary*, xviii. p. 212.

[4] Bachiller, in an appendix to a literary history of Cuba, describes the books published in that island from the introduction of printing to 1840, — the earliest in 1724; but Harrisse (*Bib. Amer. Vet.*, p. xxxviii) points out one dated 1720; but he disbelieves the statement of Ambrosio Valente that a book was printed as early as 1698.

* After a print in the *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden* (Weimar, 1807). On Humboldt in the New World, see ch. 3 of Bancroft's *California Pastoral*.

"drawn by an officer on the spot," one of Jefferys' publications, which shows the landing and subsequent movements. The cartographer Thomas Kitchin published a large plan of the attack, and other plans are in Entick, Mante, the *London Mag.* (May, 1762), and *Gentleman's Mag.* (1762).

After having been from 1509 in the possession of the Spaniards, Jamaica, in 1655, fell into the hands of the English, by a combined attack of land forces under General Venables and a fleet under Admiral Penn, sent out by Cromwell. We have the report of an eye-witness in a *Brief and perfect journal of the late proceedings and success of the English army in the West Indies continued until June 24, 1655, by I. S.* (London, 1655), and another contemporary account in *A brief description of the island of Jamaica, and a relation of possessing the town of St. Jago de la Vega, with the routing of the enemies from their forts and advance, and taking the said island, May 10, 1655;* and of course the events of the capture enter into the official records and general and naval histories of England and the Commonwealth. There are various papers relating to the expedition in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series*, vol. i., and on the subsequent history of

HAVANA IN 1720.*

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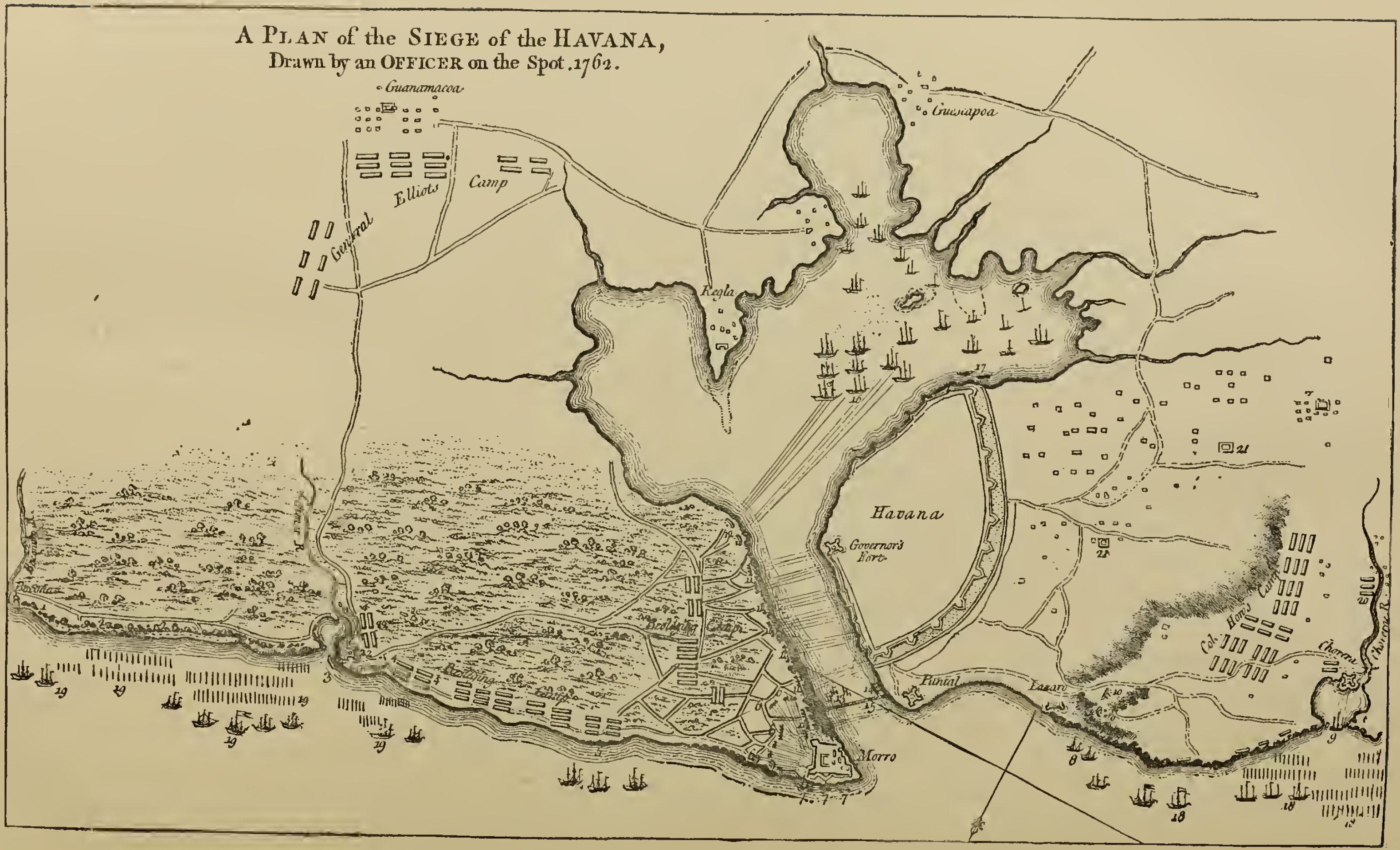
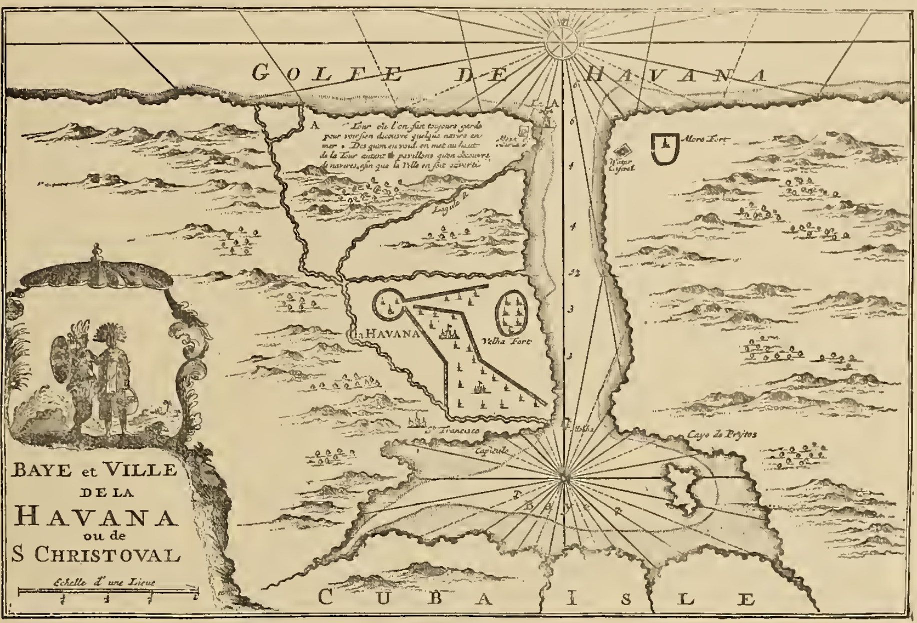
* From Gage's *Voyage* (Amsterdam, 1720), vol. ii. Cf. view from Montanus (1670), *ante*, Vol. II. p. 202; and that on the map in *An account of the Spanish settlements in America* (Edinburgh, 1762).



A PLAN of the SIEGE of the HAVANA,
Drawn by an OFFICER on the Spot. 1762.

the island in *Ibid.*, vol. v. (1660–1668). Cf. Grenville Penn's *Memorials of the Life of Admiral Sir William Penn.*[1] The possession of the island was later confirmed to England by the treaty of Madrid in 1670. The earliest general description after the English rule was established appeared in Richard Blome's *Description of the Island of Jamaica, with the other Isles and Territories in America to which the English are related, taken from the Notes of Sir Thomas Gruich, Knight, Governour of Jamaica, and other experienced Persons in the said places* (London, 1672, 1678), and was later refashioned in a more condensed way in his *Present State of his Majesty's isles and territories in America* (London, 1687).[2] Reference may be made to *Interesting Tracts relating to the island of Jamaica, Consisting of State papers, Councils of war, letters, petitions, narratives, etc., which throw great light on the history of that island from its conquest [1655] to 1702* (St. Jago de la Vega, 1800); and to *The State of the island of Jamaica, chiefly in relation to its*


GOLFE DE HAVANA
A Tour ou l'on fait toujours garde pour voir s'on decouvre quelque navire en mer. Des qu'on en voit, on met au haut de la Tour autant de pavillons qu'on decouvre de navires, afin que la Ville en soit avertie
A
Lagida R
Moro Fort
Water Castel
HAVANA
Velha Fort
Francisco
Cayo de Pryros
BAYE
BAYE et VILLE DE LA HAVANA ou de S CHRISTOVAL
Echelle d'une Lieue
CUBA ISLE

HAVANA.*

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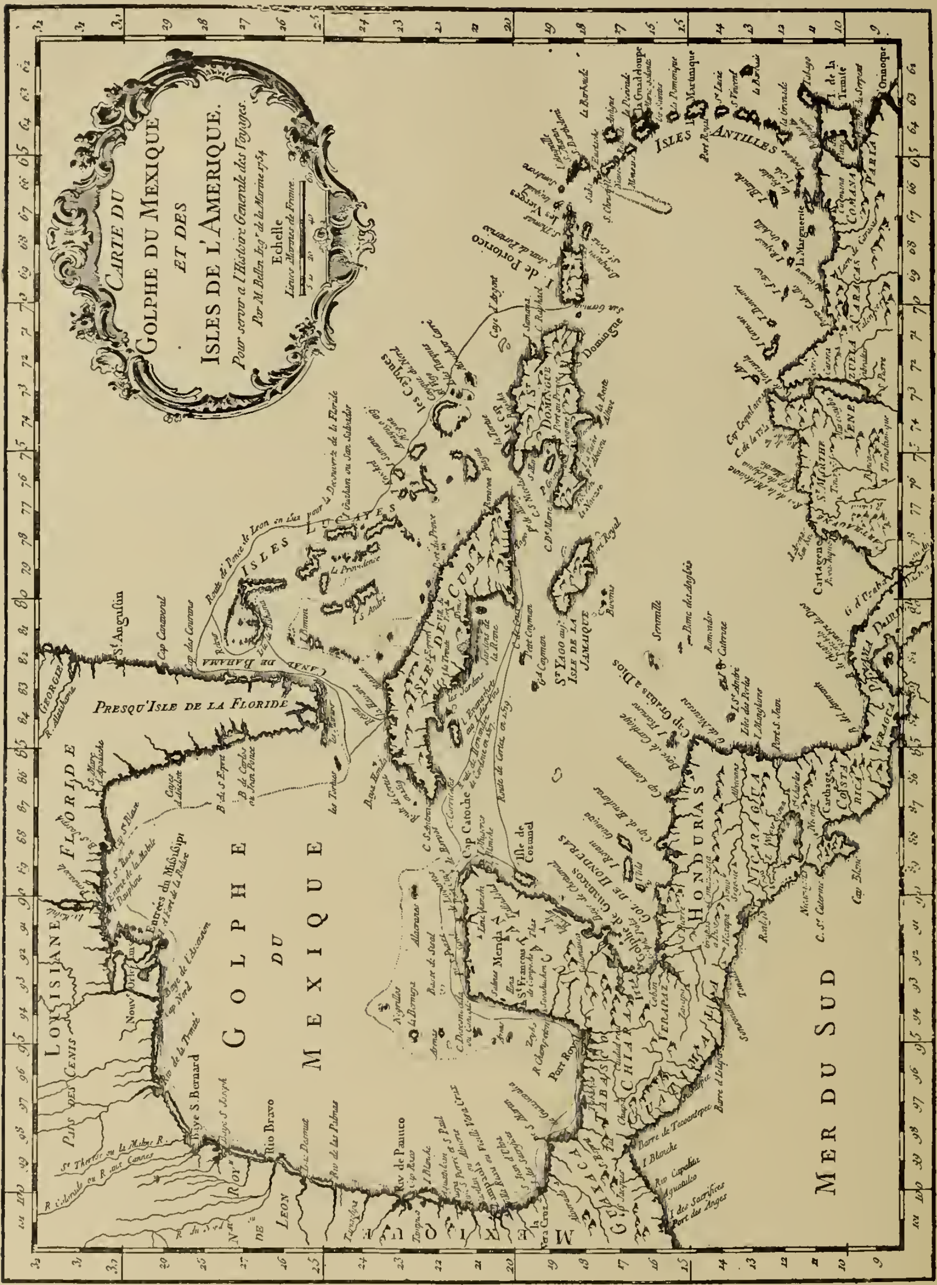
[1] It will be remembered that it was to requite services and pay indebtedness to Penn that his son received later the grant of Pennsylvania, named after his father.

[2] Cf. *ante*, Vol. III. p. 449; V. p. 340. Both books have maps, the first a large one, and the latter one of Morden's small series. Of the *Present State* there is a French translation (Amsterdam, 1688), and a German (Leipzig, 1697). Cf. Henri Justel's translation from the English of a *Recueil de divers Voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique* (Paris, 1674), which has also a map of Jamaica.

NOTE TO OPPOSITE MAP. — Reduced from a map in *An Authentic Journal of the Siege* (London, 1763). — KEY: 1, Where his Majesty's troops first landed. 2, The march of the army. 3, His Majesty's ship "Dragon" against Cojimar. 4, Where the army first encamped. 5, Where the cannon and stores were landed. 6, The batteries against the Morro. 7, The "Dragon," "Cambridge." and "Marlborough," against the Morro. 8, The bombs against the Puntal. 9, His Majesty's ship "Bellisle" against Chorera Fort. 10, The batteries on the west side against the Puntal. 11, The batteries on the Cavannes hill. 12, The hoëtzers against the shipping. 13, Three Spanish men-of-war, sunk. 14, One company's ship, overset. 15, The chain and bomb. 16, The Spanish admiral and fleet. 17, Two ships on the stocks. 18, Sir George Pocock with the men-of-war and transports. 19, Com. Keppel with the men-of-war and transports. 20, Camp at the water-mills. 21, Fortified houses. 22, Headquarters.

* From *Voyage de François Coreal* (Amsterdam, 1722), vol. i. Cf. other plans of town and harbor in Otten's *Nova isthmi Americani tabula* (Amsterdam, 1717), and in his *Grand Théâtre de la Guerre en Amérique* (1717); Bowles' plan (London) followed in one by Homann (Nuremberg, 1739); *Gentleman's Mag.* (1740); *Geog. Desc. of the Coasts of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740); Jefferys in his *Desc. of the Spanish Islands* (1762), and his *Atlas;* a Spanish one by Tomas Lopez (Madrid, 1785); and that in Humboldt's *Essai politique* (Paris, 1826; Spanish, Paris, 1827).



NOTE. — The above map is reduced from Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii. The best grouping of the maps of the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies is in Uricoechea's *Mapoteca Colombiana* (pp. 53–79), and this may be supplemented by the subject headings in the *British Museum Map Catalogue*. The collection of loose maps in the Harvard College collection is a large one. The maps of these enclosed waters down to the end of the sixteenth century have been enumerated in *ante*, Vol. II. 217, etc. For the seventeenth century, reference may be made to those in Van Loon's *Zee-Atlas* (1661), and that one which apparently belongs to Clodoré's *Relation* (1671) but is seldom found with it (Leclerc, no. 2 13). The maps of the eighteenth century are numerous; but a few may be selected as typical: That in Nathaniel Uring's *Voyages* (London, 1726); those of Herman Moll (*London Mag.*, 1740); of Popple, improved by Buache (1740); the *commerce and the Conduct of the Spaniards in the West Indies, by a person who resided several years at Jamaica* (London, 1726). As the residence of Sir Henry Morgan, who was made its deputy governor by Charles II, it became associated with the story of the buccaneers, and in a little *New History of Jamaica* (London, 1740)[1] we find some of their adventures duly set forth.

The famous Sir Hans Sloane lived here also for a while (1709–10); and his sojourn resulted in his *Voyage to the islands Madeira, Barbados, Nieves, St. Christopher's, and Jamaica* (London, 1707, 1725), in two folio volumes. It is more commonly quoted as Sloane's *History of Jamaica*, and the French translation (Londres, 1751) bears a corresponding title. William King satirized it in his *Useful Transactions containing a Voyage to Cajamai, translated from the Dutch* (London, 1709).

LEONARD PARKINSON, A CAPTAIN OF MAROONS.*

Dr. Patrick Browne published a *Civil and Natural History of Jamaica* (London, 1756), which, somewhat enlarged, and improved with Kitchin's map, came to a second edition in 1789. It was held to be an important book, but a more exclusively historical treatise had appeared in the interval in Edward Long's *History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), in three quarto volumes, with Kitchin's maps,[2] that of the island itself

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[1] This book has a folding map of the island. It was translated into French by Raulin (Londres, 1751). Cf. Boucher de la Richarderie, vi. 186.

[2] Jefferys' map of 1768 is in his *General Topography of No. Amer. and the West Indies.*

Spanish map of Tomas Lopez and Juan de la Cruz (1755); Vaugondy's in the *Histoire et Commerce des Antilles Angloises* (1758); Jefferys' in 1758, and those by him included in his *French Dominions in No. and So. America* (1760), and in his *Description of the Spanish islands and Settlements of the West Indies, chiefly from original drawings taken from the Spaniards in the last war* (London, 1762 and later); those (1759) in Prévost, xv., and in the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, xviii.; Joseph Smith Speer's *West India Pilot* (London, 1771 and later); Kitchin's as given in Robertson's *America;* that in B. Edwards' *West Indies* (1794); and later ones of Homann (1796), Arrowsmith (1803), etc.

* From Bryan Edwards' *Proc. of the Gov. and Assembly of Jamaica in regard to the Maroon Negroes* (London, 1796).

P. Mazell Sculp.t

being from a survey made in 1770. Long had lived in Jamaica as a judge, and his book was readily recognized as an important one.

The Negro problem in Jamaica fast becoming serious, William Beckford (not the author of *Vathek*) published his *Negroes in Jamaica* (1788), and two years later printed his *Descriptive Account of the island of Jamaica* (London, 1790), in two volumes. The negro slaves of the Spaniards, when deserted by them at the conquest of 1655, had fled to the mountains; and for a hundred and forty years they carried on an harassing warfare upon the settlements of the English. The story of their final subjugation is told in R. C. Dallas's *History of the Maroons from their origin to the establishment of their chief tribe at Sierra Leone, with a succinct history of Jamaica* (London, 1803). The book is accompanied by a map to illustrate the Maroon War, and another of the "Cockpit," the principal seat of that war in 1795–96. Cf. Bryan Edwards' three books: *British Colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1803); *Proceedings of the Governor and associates of Jamaica in regard to the Maroon Negroes* (London, 1796); *Historical Survey of St. Domingo* (London, 1801); Lord Brougham in the *Edinburgh Rev.*, ii. 376; *Once a Week* (1865); Col. T. W. Higginson on "The Maroons of Jamaica" in the *Atlantic Monthly* (v. 213), and in his *Travellers and Outlaws* (Boston, 1889), where will also be found a similar treatment of the "Maroons of Surinam."

The later general accounts of Jamaica are: Robert Renny's *History of Jamaica* (London, 1807); *An account of Jamaica and its inhabitants, by a gentleman long resident in the West Indies* (London, 1808, 1809; Kingston, Jamaica, 1809); Drouin-de-Bercy's *Histoire civile et commerciale de la Jamaique* (Paris, 1818); Cynric R. Williams's *Tour through Jamaica, 1823* (London, 1826, 1827); J. Stewart's *View of the past and present states of Jamaica* (Edinburgh, 1823); James Hakewell's *Picturesque Tour of Jamaica* (London, 1825); G. W. Bridge's *Annals of Jamaica* (London, 1828), etc.[1]

A large part of the interest, early and late, of West Indian history centres in that island where the Spaniards founded their first city, Hispaniola, and the best key to the bibliography and cartography of the subject is in an enumeration by H. Ling Roth in the *Supplemental Papers* (vol. ii.) published in 1887 by the Royal Geographical Society,[2] and for the maps alone in the section on Haiti in Uricoechea (pp. 70–79).[3] Benzoni (1565) gives one of the best early descriptive accounts. Gomara (1568) is an early historian, to say nothing of the rest. D'Anville, in his maps, endeavored from his study of Herrera and Oviedo to place the earliest of the Spanish settlements, and these maps are found in the Paris edition (1730) of Charlevoix's *Histoire de l'isle Espagnole, ou de St. Domingue, ecrite particulièrement sur des mémoires, MSS.,*[4] *de P. J. B. Le Pers, jésuite, missionnaire à S. Domingue, et sur les pièces originals qui se conservent au dépôt de la Marine.* There were later editions: Paris, 1731; Amsterdam, 1733, all of which give much help in the cartography of the time of its publication. This is the earliest monographic history of the island, helpful in the study of the early periods; but to be supplemented for later ones by B. Ardouin's *Études sur l'histoire d'Haiti* (Paris, 1853–1861), in eleven volumes, covering the period 1784–1843; Barbé-Marbois's *Histoire des désastres de Saint Domingue, précedée d'un tableau de régime et des progrès de cette colonie, depuis sa fondation jusqu'à d'Époque de la Révolution Française* (Paris, — 1796?); Antonio del Monte y Tejada's *Historia de Santo Domingo, desde su Descubrimiento hasta nuestras Dias* (Madrid, 1853–1860); Jonathan Brown's *History and Present Condition of St. Domingo* (Philad., 1837); Thomas Madiou's *Histoire d'Haiti* (Port-au-Prince, 1847–48), in 3 volumes, covering 1492–1807, but chiefly elucidating the revolutionary period 1789–1807; and Baron V. P. Malouet's *Collection de Mémoires . . . sur l'administration des Colonies* (Paris, 1802), in vol. iv., gives us the administrative aspect of its history towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Champlain, in his *Voyage to the West Indies* (1599–1600), gives us some of the earliest graphic helps for the period following the era of discovery and colonization. It was not till thirty years later that the little island of Tortuga (Tortue, as the French called it), adjacent to Hispaniola, received (1630) from St. Kitts

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[1] See a list of anonymous publications on Jamaica in Sabin's *Dictionary*, vol. ix.

[2] Cf. Sabin's *Dictionary*, xviii. p. 260. There is a collection of Hayti tracts given to Harvard College Library by Obadiah Rich; and the "Hunt Collection" in the Boston Public Library is a full survey of Haytian history.

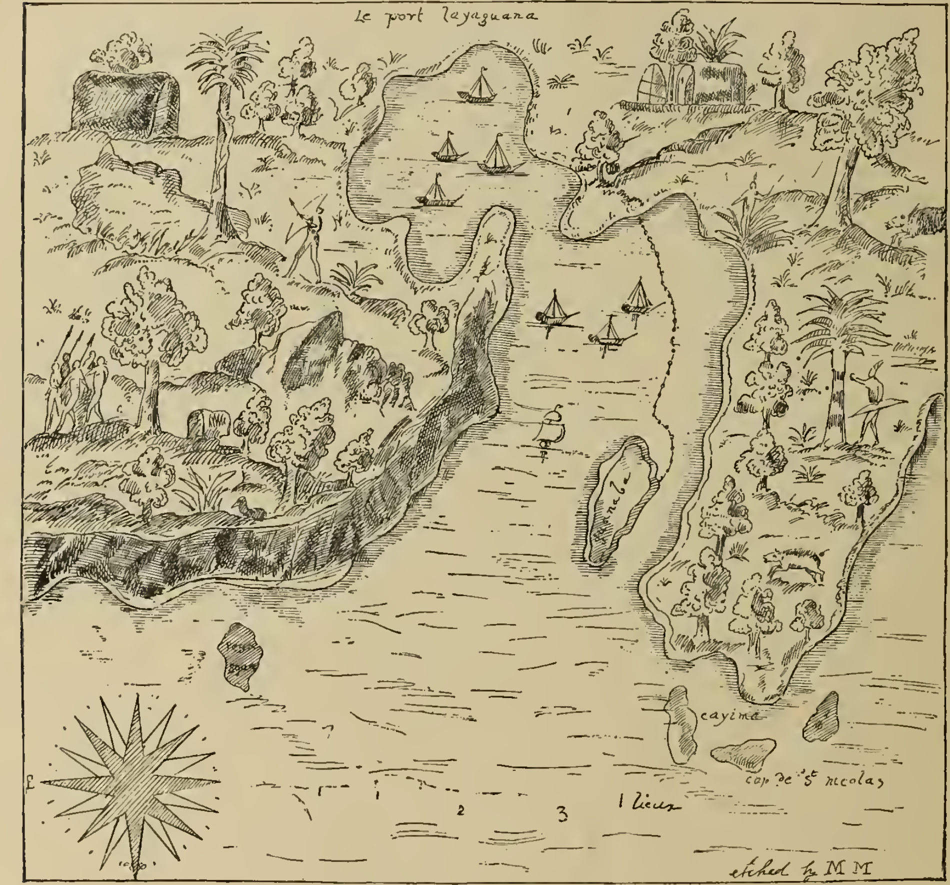
[3] Ramusio's map (1556) is given *ante*, Vol. II. p. 188. After the eighteenth century came in the chief maps are those of Delisle (1722–1725, etc.); that in Labat (v. 55); those of D'Anville (1730–31); in Prévost (xv.) and *Allg. Hist. der Reisen* (1759), xvii.; Bellin (1764, etc.); Jefferys (1762, etc.); Juan Lopez (Madrid, 1784); Bryan Edwards (1797); that in Ducœur-Joly's *Manuel des habitans des S. Domingue* (Paris, 1803); and J. B. Poirson's (1803, 1825) in Métral's *Expéd. à St. Domingue* (Paris, 1825).

[4] These are said to be in existence, and Le Pers is said not to have been satisfied with Charlevoix's use of them.

NOTE TO OPPOSITE CUT. — From Long's *Jamaica* (London, 1774), vol. ii.

(Saint Christopher's) the remnants of the combined settlements of French and English in that island, who had fled before the attacks of the Spaniards. Here the fugitives found some Dutch who had been already driven from Santa Cruz by the same common enemy; and the three could well combine as they did in using the little island, which had welcomed them, as a vantage ground to renew their depredations upon Spanish commerce. A few years later the Spanish routed the confederated foe on the island once more (1638), and hardly any escaped except those who chanced to be absent on their marauding expeditions; but these were sufficient in numbers to return and reoccupy the little island.

The French meanwhile reëstablished themselves at St. Kitts, and sent a French governor, Le Vasseur, to Tortuga, when the English among the settlers there retired to Jamaica, which had in 1655 fallen into English hands, under the attack of Penn and Venables, after their failure at Saint Domingo. Cf. Carvallido y Losada's *Noticia de las invasiones* (Madrid, 1655) and the reference elsewhere given.[1] The years which followed were varied with alternate fates. The Spaniards recaptured Tortuga; De Rossy and De la Place again took it; and then the West India Company under Ogeron gained possession in 1664, and began to settle the adjacent coast of the larger island of Saint Domingo. It was not long before the French and Spaniards drifted into disputes over the line that should separate their provinces, accompanied with predatory contests which ended with a gain of territory to the French. A little later the buccaneers were called upon to quell for the



HARBOR IN SAN DOMINGO.*

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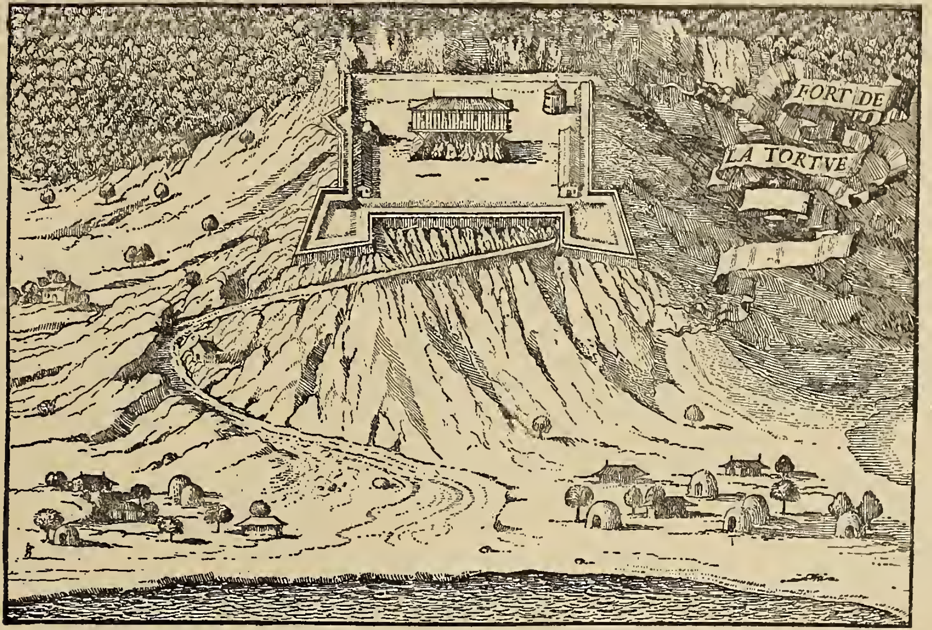
[1] Cf. a later page.

* From Champlain's own sketch as reproduced in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* (Hakluyt Soc.), 1859. Drawn in 1599 or 1600.

settlers a negro insurrection (1678); and when Governor De Cussy came in 1684 he found that Tortuga had been deserted for the advantages of the larger island. The compacting of the French was opportune, for when war broke out between France and Spain in 1689, both sides rallied round their national flags in their marches and conflicts on the island. At the battle of Sabana Real, Jan. 21, 1691, the Spaniards from the easterly end overcame the French and sacked Cape François. The French were soon recruited from St. Kitts, when the English drove the French thence;[1] and in turn Du Cosse, now made governor, attacked Jamaica and brought away much plunder. The scales soon turned, for the English and Spaniards joined forces and captured Cape François. This retaliatory warfare ceased when the Peace of Ryswick (1697) confirmed France in her possession of the western end of the island, which now under peaceful French domination entered upon a career of prosperity.

At the Spanish end the times were after a while more stirring. The hostilities between Spain and England in 1740[2] exposed the commerce of the English to many hazards in these waters, and the town of Santo Domingo gained importance by the accessions to its resources from the Dutch and Danish trade, which was invited, and inducements were held out to immigrants, when a considerable body came from the Canary islands. Still later the Spaniards did not neglect the opportunity for predatory exploits when the war of 1762 followed in the train of events.



FORT DE LA TORTUE.*

The boundary disputes, which were a bar to pacification, were finally brought to a close by a treaty in 1777, under which the French and Spanish parts of the island were satisfactorily separated. The treaty is given with a "notice historique" in Calvo's *Recueil des traités*, iii. 99, and in English in the appendix of Hazard's *Santo Domingo*. Hilliard d'Auberteuil published at this time his *Considérations sur l'état present de la Colonie française de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1776–77), in two volumes. The condition of the island in the year just before the bursting of the revolutionary passions is portrayed for us, for the Spanish part, in Antonio Sanchez Valverde's *Idea del Valor de la isla Española* (Madrid, 1785), the author having been long a resident, and the inheritor of his father's collection of papers. For the French part, — M. L. E. Moreau de Saint Méry published his *Lois et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amérique sous le Vent* (Paris, 1784–85), in five volumes; but the French Revolution breaking out he did not complete the work till a *Description topographique et politique de la partie Espagnole de l'ile de Saint Domingue* appeared in Philadelphia (1796, and a large map; also in English, by W. Cobbett, 1796), and a *Partie Française* (Philad., 1797-98), a second edition of both parts coming out in Paris, 1875-76.

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[1] Margry has given contemporary material respecting the early settlements of the French, 1692, in the *Revue Maritime et Coloniale* (Paris, 1862), pp. 794–1818.

[2] D'Anville's war map of the West Indies at this time is a convenient accompaniment of the naval accounts.

* From a print in Du Tertre's *Antilles* (Paris, 1667).

Touſsaint Louverture.

There was a further contribution to the study of this period in the record of the visit to the island of F. A. Stanislaus, the Baron de Wimpffen, whose *Voyage to Saint Domingo, 1788-1790, translated from the original MS.*, was first published in London (1797), while the original text appeared a few months later (Paris, 1797).

When the doctrines of the French Revolution began to be talked of, the rich French planters thought their opportunity was come, and they began to organize to secure their independence. They called assemblies, but they denied the mulattoes a share in their deliberations, which naturally drove the half-breeds into the support of equal rights, while the governor and his party drifted into open war with the whites and their assembly. The mulattoes prematurely rose under one of their number, James Ogè, who had been sent over by the National Assembly of France to present their decree establishing equal rights; but they were soon put down, while Ogè fled within the Spanish territory. He was given up on condition that his life should be spared; but the whites were faithless, and broke him on a wheel.

The passions of all sides were at once let loose. The whites were divided among themselves, and this did much to help the negroes, who now rose in revolt, to carry out under great provocation their nefarious plans of murder and devastation. It was a curious spectacle, with the negroes embattled for the French king, and the whites in opposition. The blacks were not generally successful in the field till the mulattoes joined them, when at Croix des Bouquets, March 28, 1792, they defeated the white forces.

We have the French official reports on the causes and scenes of this period of horror in several forms: J. Ph. Garan-Coulon's *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1797-99), in four volumes. *An inquiry into the causes of the insurrection of the negroes in the island of St. Domingo; to which are added Observations of M. Garran-Coulon before the Nat. Assembly* (London, 1792). *Production historique des faits qui se sont passés dans la partie de l'ouest, depuis le commencement de la révolution de Saint Domingue jusqu'au premier Février, 1792, présentée par les gardes nationales du Port-au-Prince à Messieurs les Commissaires Civils* (Port-au-Prince, 1792).[1] *A particular account of the commencement and progress of the*

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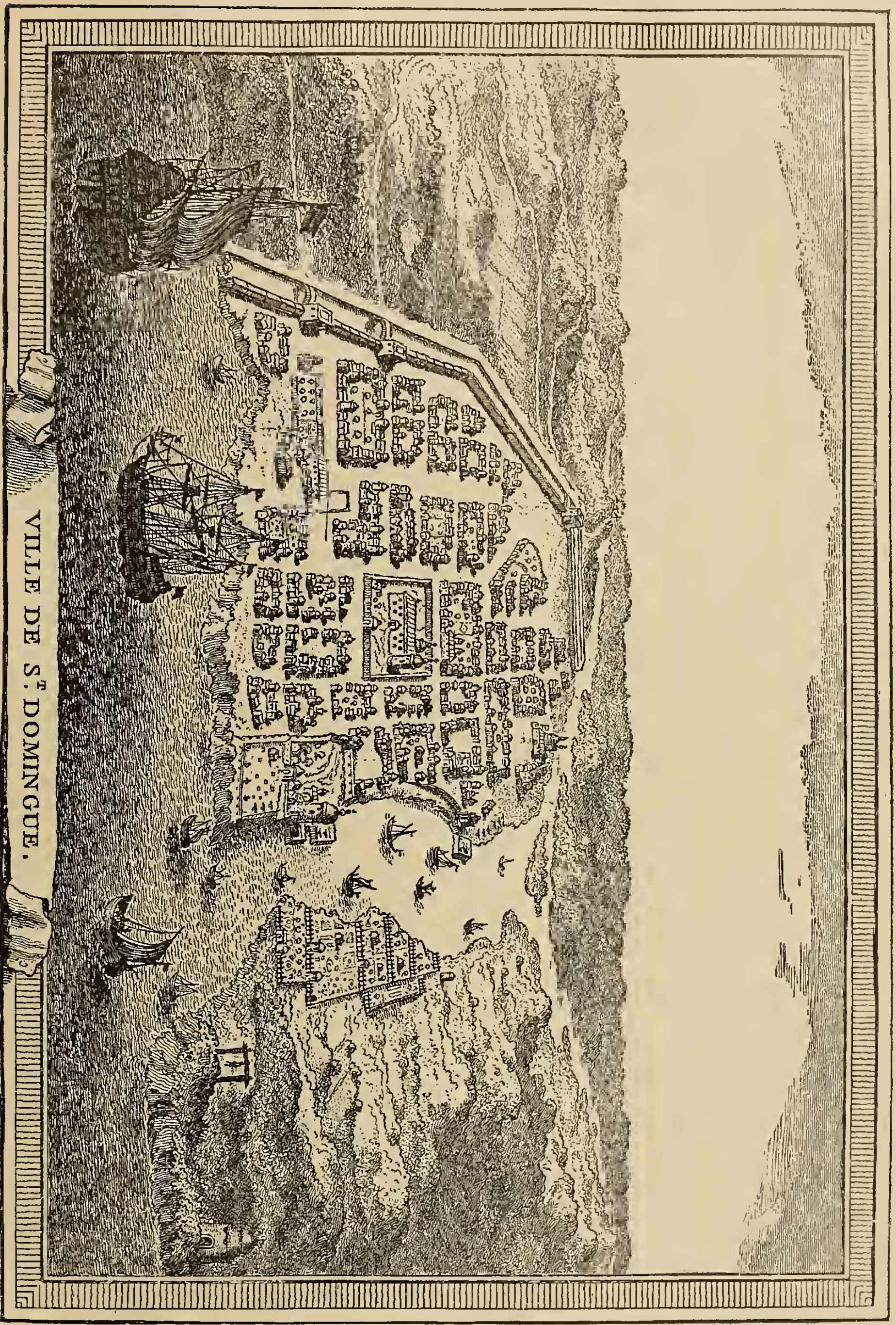
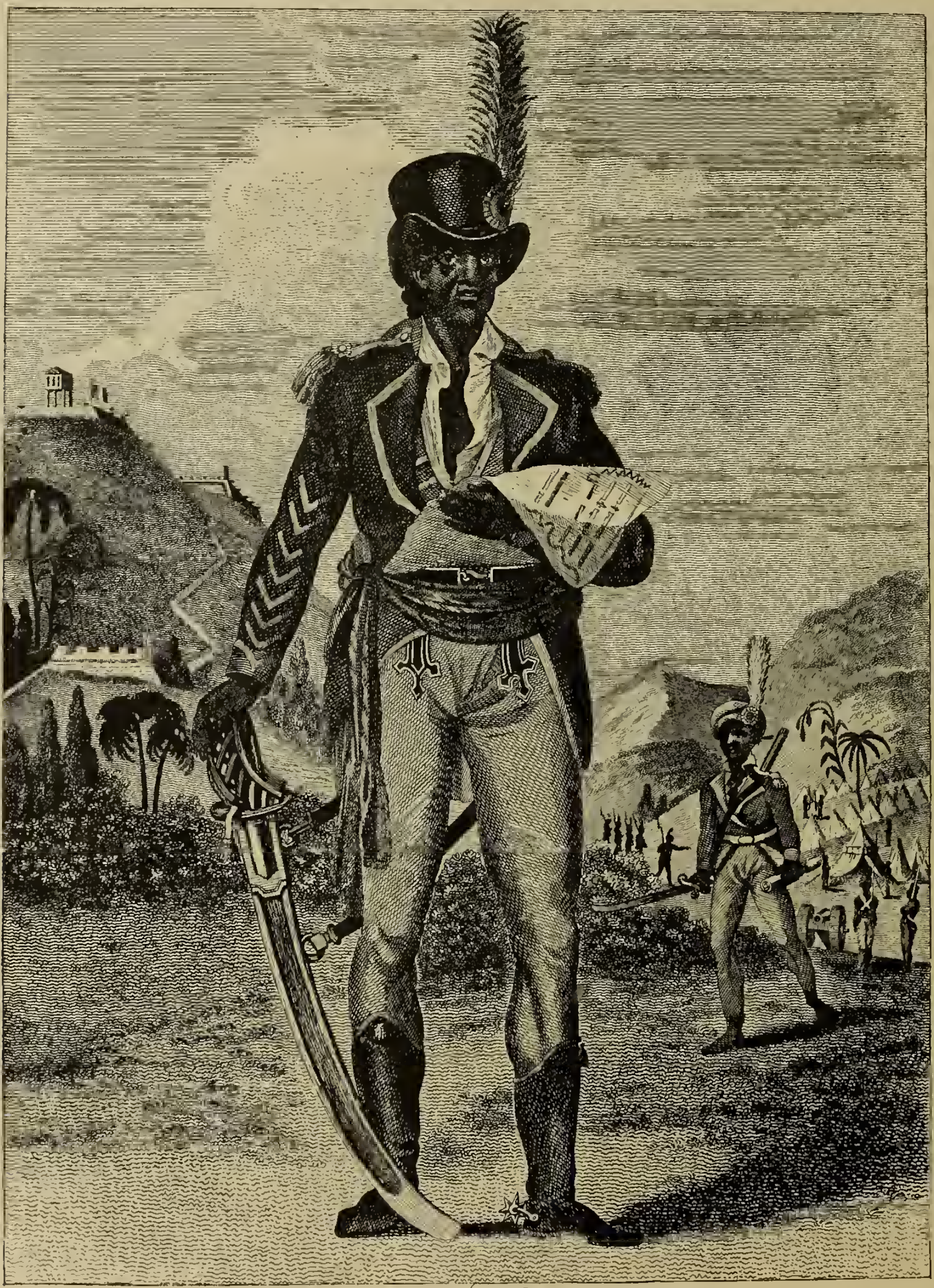
[1] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 3554.

NOTE. — The above cut is reproduced from Charles Yves Cousin d'Avalon's *Histoire de Toussaint-Louverture* (Paris, 1802). Cf. other engravings in Antoine Métral's *Hist. de l'Expédition des Français à Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1825); in Louis Dubroca's *Vie de Toussaint-Louverture* (Paris, 1802). Marcus Rainsford, in his *St. Domingo* (London, 3d ed., 1802) gives a full-length back view, with profile head, in uniform, as sketched by Major Rainsford from life. Still another likeness is in *Toussaint-Louverture's frühere Geschichte nach Englischen Nachrichten bearbeitet* (Fürth, 1802).


VILLE DE S^T. DOMINGUE.

NOTE. — Reduced from a plate in Prévost's *Voyages* (Paris, 1754), vol. xii. There is a modern engraving of this same view in Hazard's *Santo Domingo* (N. Y., 1873), p. 62, and a plan (p. 219). Cf. other plans and views in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt* (p. 350, in connection with Drake's voyage, 1585–86); in Otten's *Grand thèâtre de la Guerre* (Amsterdam, 1717), sometimes found also in his *Nova Isthmi Americani Tabula* (1717); Charlevoix's *Espagnole;* Jefferys' *Desc. of the Spanish Islands* (London, 1762); and the Spaniard Lopez (1785).

insurrection of the negroes in St. Domingo, made to the Nat. Assembly, by the deputies from the general assembly of the French part of St. Domingo (London, 1792). *Dévellopment des causes des troubles et désastres des Colonics Françaises, présenté à la Convention Nationale par les Commissaires de Saint Domingue sur la demande des comités de marine et des colonies, réunis après en avoir donné communication aux colons résidens à Paris, le 11 Juin, 1793.* Of Saint Amand's *Histoire des*



Toussaint Louverture

NOTE. — After a picture in Marcus Rainsford's *Hist. Acc. of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London, 1805).

Révolution d'Haïti (Paris, 1860), apparently only the first volume, covering 1789–1792, was published. The early years of the revolution are also dealt with in Boisrond-Tonnerre's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Haiti* (Port-au-Prince, 1804), which with other matter and an *Étude historique par Saint Remy*, was republished at Paris in 1851.

In 1792, an army of 6000 troops was sent by the ruling powers in France to control events in St. Domingo. They were joined by the mulattoes, who thus separated their fortunes from the blacks. The commissioners who accompanied the troops came empowered to recognize no distinction of color in free men. The French troops captured Port-au-Prince, and the negroes were subdued.

Soon after the news of the execution (Jan. 21, 1793) of Louis XVI reached the island, the blacks abandoned the French part and went over to the Spaniards, when Jean François was created a general, and Toussaint a colonel, in the Spanish army. At the same time (May, 1793), war breaking out between England and France, the governor of Jamaica was directed to capture such ports in St. Domingo as he could, and to hold them in the British interest. Thus the English and Spaniards joining, the adherents of the French Republic were soon driven into one corner of the island.

On the 14th of June, 1794, the English captured Port-au-Prince. Events now moved rapidly. The French, under Levaux, were besieging the British at Port de Paix, when Toussaint with his negroes deserted his new masters, the Spaniards, and joined forces with Levaux.

Votre très humble &
obéisst serviteur
Toussaint Louverture*

The next year (1795) the Peace of Basle gave the French the entire control of the island, and the Spaniards evacuated it, and carried with them to Havana and from the city of Saint Domingo the remains of Columbus.

There are two contemporary narratives of events up to this period. Dalmas wrote while in the United States in 1793–94, a fugitive from the revolution of the blacks, a *Histoire de la Révolution de Saint Domingue depuis le commencement des troubles*, which was not printed for some years (Paris, 1814); and M. E. Descourtily's *Histoire des désastres de St. Domingue* (Paris, 1795).

Toussaint now found his army increasing round him. His people trusted him. The French perceived him to be a man who controlled himself and his people. So the prospect brightened. "Cet homme fait l'overture partout," said some one. It seemed prophetic, and Toussaint became L'overture. The grateful home government of France in 1797 made him general in chief, and the next year he forced the English general off the island, and effected a treaty that was to keep Saint Domingo independent during the war.

The black chief soon tranquillized the island, and only a small section was held by the French republicans under Rigaud; but this region finally succumbed.

The Spaniards, who had not been prompt in carrying out the treaty of 1795, finally, on Jan. 2, 1801, opened the gates of the city of Saint Domingo to Toussaint, and in July the island was declared independent, under a constitution with Toussaint as chief.

When the war with England had ceased under the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte, then first consul, turned his attention to Saint Domingo and sent a large force under Leclerc, his brother-in-law, to reoccupy it; England agreeing to be neutral, and Holland lending the ships. With it went Rochambeau (the son of the soldier of Yorktown) in command of a division, and Villaret as the admiral of the fleet.

In Jan., 1802, the French descended upon the island in three places, captured the city of Saint Domingo, and secured Cape François, but not till Christophe, the negro chief in charge of its garrison, had set it on fire and fled. Toussaint resisted all bribes and persuasions, and entered upon an active campaign against the invaders. It ended, however, in his submission, after his trusted adherents had deserted him, and in a peace by which the power of France was restored throughout the island. Toussaint was treacherously seized and sent to France, where he died in durance, April, 1803.

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* From the close of an autograph document given in Rainsford's *Hist. Acct. of the Black Empire of Hayti* (London, 1805).

Toussaint is the central figure of a large body of historical writings, and the following titles in their chronological order will indicate the growth of interest and the development of knowledge: —

Charles Esmangart's *Des Colonies Françaises et en particulier de l'ile de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1801).

Louis Dubroca's *La Vie de Toussaint Louverture ; suivie de notes sur Saint Domingue . . . et des opérations militaires du Général Leclerc* (Paris, 1802), upon which was based a *Histoire de Toussaint Louverture par Charles Yves Cousin d'Avalon* (Paris, 1802).

The successive books of Captain Marcus Rainsford: *A Memoir of Transactions that took place in St. Domingo in the spring of 1799, affording an idea of the present state of that country, the real character of its black governor, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the safety of our West India islands from attack or revolt* (London, 1802, 31 pp.) ; *St. Domingo, or an historical, political and military sketch of the Black Republic, with a view of the life and character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and the effects of his newly established dominion* (London, 1802, 2d ed., pp. 63) ; *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti, comprehending a view of the principal transactions in the revolution of St. Domingo* (London, 1805, pp. 477). This last has a long appendix of historical documents, with a plan of Cape François as it was before its destruction.[1] A German translation was published at Hamburg in 1806.

René Perin's *L'Incendie du Cap ou le Régne de Toussaint Louverture* (Paris, 1802).

F. C.'s *Soirées Bermudiennes, ou Entretiens sur les évènements qui ont opéré la ruine de la partie française de l'isle Saint Domingue* (Bordeaux, 1802).

Colonel Charles Chalmers' *Researches on the late war in St. Domingo* (London, 1803).

The Life and military achievements of Toussaint Louverture, from the year 1792 to the fall of 1803 (Philad. ?, 1804 ; 2d ed., 1805).

Augustin Régis' *Mémoire historique sur Toussaint Louverture, suivi d'une notice historique sur Alexandre Pétion* (Paris, 1818).

Antoine Métral's *Histoire de l'expédition militair des Français à Saint Domingue, sous Napoléon Bonaparte ; suivi des mémoires et notes d'Isaac Louverture sur la même expédition, et sur la vie de son père* (Paris, 1825 ; again, 1841).

James Franklin's *Present State of Hayti* (London, 1828).

Lemonier-Delafosse's *Second Campagne de Saint Domingue, Dec., 1803–July, 1809 ; précédée de souvenirs historique de la première campagne : expédition du général-en-chef, Leclerc, Dec., 1801–Dec., 1803* (Havre, 1846).

John R. Beard's *Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the negro patriot of Hayti : comprising an account of the struggle for liberty in the island, and a sketch of its history to the present period* (London, 1853).

Joseph St. Remy's *Vie de Toussaint L'Overture* (Paris, 1850), using material in the French archives ; and his *Mémoires du Général Toussaint L'Ouverture, écrits par lui-même, pouvant servir à l'histoire de sa vie, précédés d'une étude historique et critique, suivis de notes et Renseignements, avec un Appendice contenant les opinions de l'Empereur Napoléon 1er sur les évènements de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1853).

Hannah F. Lee's *Memoir of Pierre Toussaint* (Boston, 3d ed., 1854).

Charles Wyllys Elliott's *Saint Domingo, its revolution and its hero, Toussaint L'Ouverture* (N. Y., 1855).

An address on Toussaint Louverture, by Wendell Phillips, delivered Dec., 1861, and included in his *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters* (Boston, 1864).

Gragnon de Lacoste's *Toussaint Louverture, . . . écrit d'après des documents inédits et les papiers historiques et secrets de la famille Louverture* (Paris et Bordeaux, 1877).

A few minor references: An article by S. H. Swiney in *Macmillan's Mag.*, lvi. 311 ; by H. Adams on Napoleon and St. Domingo in *Revue historique*, xxiv. 92 ; a dramatic poem on Toussaint by Lamartine ; and Harriet Martineau's novel, *The Hour and the Man* (N. Y., 1841).

The fate of Toussaint once more inflamed the passions of the blacks, and they rose under Dessalines, Cristophe, and Clervaux. Leclerc had died, and given place to Rochambeau, who was now cooped up in Cape François (1803), where he was besieged by Dessalines. War again breaking out between England and France, a British fleet blockaded the port at the same time. On Nov. 19, the French surrendered the town and went aboard the ships, and going out the harbor lowered their flags to the English admiral.

The way was again open for an independent government, and the three black generals declared the island to be subject to no external power, and Jean Jacques Dessalines was made governor-general for life. Power, thus confirmed to him, awoke his baser nature, and he entered upon a murderous career against the French part of the population, which was certainly not undeserved, in the view of their own excesses, and he crossed (May, 1805) the mountains with 25,000 men to besiege St. Domingo, from which he was obliged to retire on the appearance of a French fleet. He next declared himself emperor, under the title of Jacques I. Of the 4,000,000 souls now on the island, a large proportion were women, and an army of 15,000 men, which Dessalines organized, was a good deal of a strain upon the population. His excesses brought him the hate even of his own soldiers, and he was ambushed and shot, Oct. 17, 1806.

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[1] Cf. the earlier plans in Charlevoix's *Espagnole* (1733, etc.), and in Bellin's *Desc. des Débouquemens au nord de St. Domingue* (Versailles, 1773).

The special treatment of this period is found as follows:—

Louis Dubroca's *Vie de Dessalines, avec des notes sur les chefs des noirs depuis 1792* (Paris, 1804; in German, Leipzig, 1805).

A. P. M. Laujon's *Précis historique de la dernière expédition de Saint Domingue depuis le départ de l'armée des côtes de France, jusqu'à l'évacuation de la colonie* (Paris, 1805).

Philippe Albert de Lattre's *Campagnes des Français à Saint Domingue et réfutation des reproches faits au Capitaine Général Rochambeau* (Paris, 1805).

Miss Hassal's *Secret history of the horrors of St. Domingo, written at Cape François during the command of Gen. Rochambeau* (Philad., 1808).

Cristophe early succeeded in the north to Dessaline's power, but his rule farther south was disputed by Pétion, a mulatto, who had been educated at the military academy in Paris. In the internal dissensions which ensued Pétion was defeated, January, 1807, and fled; but he succeeded in maintaining about him such adherents as backed his pretensions in the south, and finally, in 1812, the rivalry of the two leaders had settled down into a sort of agreement that each was to govern in their respective strongholds, — Cristophe at Cape François and Pétion at Port-au-Prince. The French forces still held the city of Saint Domingo, but not peacefully, for the Spaniards revolting under Juan Sanchez Ramirez, they defeated the French general, Ferrand, who had marched out against them, but only to shoot himself in his chagrin at defeat. The French were now shut up in Saint Domingo and Samana. In November, 1809, the English took Samana and handed it over to the Spaniards, and they had also captured Saint Domingo, and put Ramirez in command. In 1814 the treaty of Paris confirmed the Spanish possession.

Meanwhile disquiet and revulsion of one kind and another so succeeded each other in the west, that with the Emperor Cristophe and the President Pétion in the midst of the turmoils, life to each became a burden. Pétion finally died of mortification in March, 1818, and Cristophe was assassinated in October, 1820.

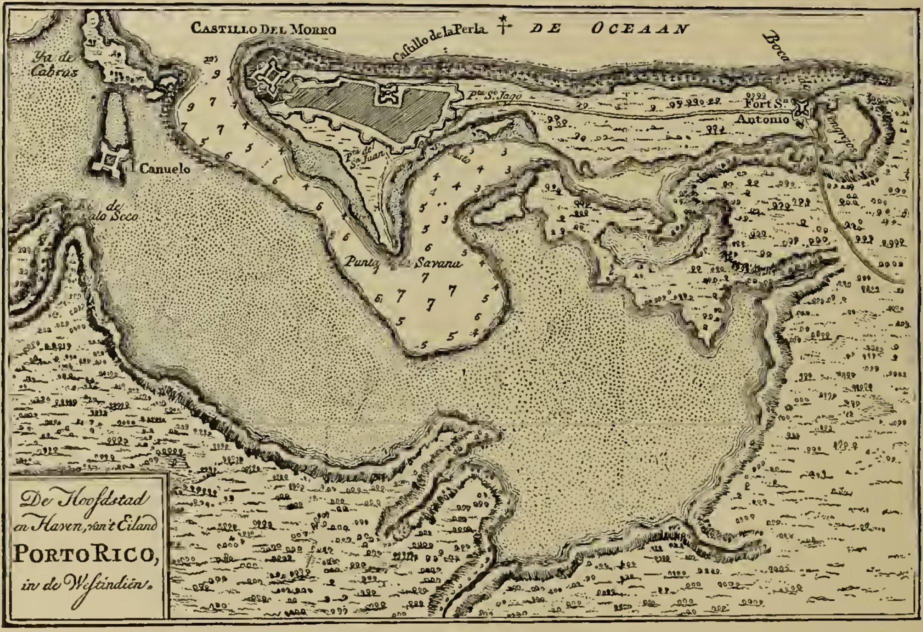
Boyer, a dark mulatto, who joined to a love of show too much laxity of purpose, found nevertheless the opportunity in the death of Cristophe to strengthen the power to which he had been elevated on the death of Pétion. So he succeeded in reuniting the provinces of the west, and soon became president over all; while in 1822, having succeeded in pacifying the entire island, he entered Saint Domingo, and established the Republic of Hayti, — a government which was to last for an unwonted term of years. France refused to recognize the new power, and sent a fleet under Baron Mackau, and compromised her claims under an agreement

NOTE. — The above cut is reproduced from the *Leben des J. J. Dessalines* (Leipzig, 1805).

(1825) by which France was to enjoy some commercial privileges and receive a large money indemnity, failing the payment of which last the island was to become once more a colony of France.

Boyer continued in office till 1843, when he was deposed. The separation of the Spanish end of the island followed, under an independent government, Juan Pablo Duarte leading the revolt, which ended in the declaration of a separation from Hayti, February 27, 1844.

This later period and the last of the present survey has found special treatment by observer and student: Charles Mackenzie's *Notes on Hayti* (London, 1830), with a fac-simile of one of Cristophe's proclamations. The author was consul-general for Great Britain, and had facilities for securing information. C. C. Robin's *Voyage dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, . . . de St. Domingue*, etc. (Paris, 1807). *Haytian Papers: a collection of the very interesting proclamations and other official documents; together with some account of the rise, progress, and present state of the Kingdom of Hayti, with a preface by Prince Sanders, agent for the Haytian Government* [of Cristophe] (London, 1816). W. W. Harvey's *Sketches of Hayti, from the expulsion of the French to the death of Christophe* (London, 1827). A paper on Cristophe in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Mag.*, vol. x. (1821) p. 545. Jos. St. Remy's *Pétion et Haiti; étude monographique et historique* (Paris, 1854–58), in five volumes. Gilbert Guillermin de Montpinay's *Journal historique de la Révolution de la partie de l'est de Saint Domingue, commencée le 10 Août, 1808* (Philad., 1810, Paris, 1811); and his *Précis historique depuis le 10 Août, 1808, jusqu'à la capitulation de Santo Domingo* (Paris, 1811). This last volume contains a "Plan des environs de St. Domingue avec les positions et retranchments des révolté, 27 Nov., 1808–July 3, 1809," and a portrait of General Ferrand. Dorvo-Soulastre's *Voyage par terre de Santo Domingo au Cap François* (Paris, 1809). William Walton, Jr.'s *Present State of the Spanish Colonies, including a particular report of Hispaniola* (London, 1810). The author was secretary to the expedition which captured the city of Saint Domingo, and he gives a plan of the campaign. *History of the Island of St. Domingo from its discovery to the present period* (London, 1818; N. Y., 1825; in French, 1829), — mainly concerning the events of 1814, etc. M. Wallez's *Précis historique des négociations entre la France et Saint Domingue; suivi de pièces justicatives et d'une notice biographique sur le général Boyer* (Paris, 1826). Inginac's *Mémoires* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1843). He was secretary under Boyer. The military events of this revolutionary period are touched with more or less fulness in Mathieu Dumas' *Précis des Evénéments militaires, 1799–1814* (Paris, 1817–26), in nineteen volumes, and in Jomini's *Guerres de la Revolution* (Paris, 1820–24), in fifteen volumes. Cf. Lt.-General the

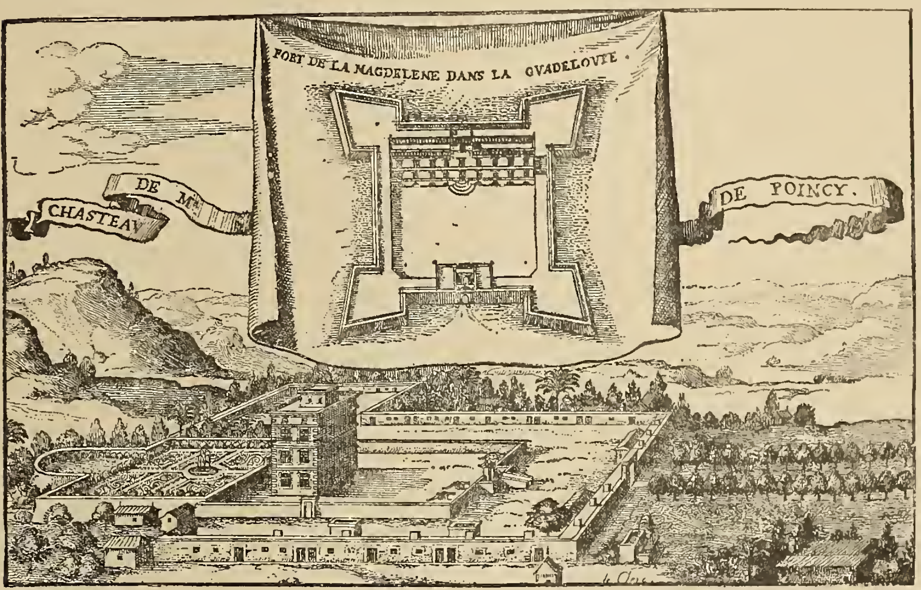


NOTE. — From *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), iii. 172.

Baron Pamphile de la Croix's *Mémoires pour servir à la histoire de la revolution de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1819).

It may be well now to run down the succession of the chief and most characteristic histories of the island, especially for its later periods, the writing of which was in the main instigated by the events that made part of the long revolutionary history of St. Domingo: J. B. J. Breton's *Histoire de l'Isle de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1802). Drouin de Bercy's *De Saint Domingue, de ses guerres, de ses revolutions*, etc. (Paris, 1814).

The Baron de Vastey abandoned the French republic in 1795, and went over to the Spaniards. He was killed in 1820. His successive publications: *Reflexions politique sur les noirs et les blancs . . . le Royaume d'Haiti* (Cap Henry, 1816). *Reflexions politiques sur quelques ouvrages et journaux français concernant Hayti* (Sans Souci, 1817; in English in *The Pamphleteer*, London, xiii. 165); and *Essai sur les causes de la révolution et des guerres civiles d'Hayti* (Sans Souci, 1819; in English, Exeter, 1823).


FORT DE LA MAGDELENE DANS LA GVADELOVPE
DE Mr CHASTEAV
DE POINCY

NOTE.—From a print in Du Tertre's *Antilles* (Paris, 1667).

Antoine Metral's *Histoire de l'insurrection des esclaves dans le Nord de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1819), and his *Histoire de l'Expédition des Français à Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1844). *History of the island of St. Domingo to the present period* (London, 1818). Du Pradt's *Pièces relatives à Saint Domingue et à l'Amérique* (Paris, 1818), a supplement to his work on America. L. J. Clausson's *Précis historique de la révolution de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1819). Pamphile de la Croix's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de St. Domingue* (Paris, 1819), in two volumes. Charles Malo's *Histoire de l'isle de Saint Domingue depuis sa découverte jusqu'à l'année 1818* (Paris, 1819); *jusqu'en 1824* (Paris, 1825). Civique de Gastine's *Histoire de la République de Haïti* (Paris, 1819). Justin Placide's *Histoire politique et statistique de l'ile de Hayti, écrits sur des documents officiels et des notes communiquées par* [Sir] *James Barskett* (Paris, 1826). It has convenient maps for showing the respective territories of King Cristophe and President Pétion, and the range of the French rule. Jonathan Brown's *History and Present Condition of St. Domingo* (Philad., 1837), in two volumes. Peter S. Charotte's *Hist. Sketches of the Revolution and the foreign and civil Wars in St. Domingo* (N. Y., 1840). Wilhelm Jordan's *Geschichte der insel Hayti* (Leipzig, 1846–49). *Documents relatifs à touts les phases de la Révolution de Saint Domingue, recuellis et mis en ordre par Edmond Bonnet* (Paris, 1864).

The best work on Porto Rico is Inigo Abbad's *Historia, geografica, civil y politica de la isla de S. Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico* (Madrid, 1788), edited by Villadores de Sotomayor, and reprinted with a collection of documents in P. T. Cordova's *Memorias de Puerto Rico* (Puerto Rico, 1831), in two volumes.

The principal books on Antigua are John Luffman's *Brief account of Antigua* (London, 1789), and *Antigua and the Antiguans from the time of the Caribs* (London, 1844), in two vols.

Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series*, vol. v. (1661–1668).

Guadaloupe came into prominence with the attack of the British upon it, Jan. 23, 1759, the forces under General Barrington and the fleet under Commodore Moore. The attack is described, with a map, in Mante's *Late War* (London, 1772), and there is a contemporary map of the attack in the *London Mag.*, 1759, p. 287, and a larger one in Jefferys' *Atlas*.[1] Cf. E. E. Boyer-Peyreleau's *Les Antilles françaises, particulièrement la Guadeloupe, depuis la découverte jusqu'au 1er Nov. 1825* (Paris, 1825), in three volumes. Labat has maps of the early part of the last century.

On Dominica see Thomas Atwood's *History of Dominica, the conquest by the French and its restoration to the British Dominions* (London, 1791). Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series*, vol. v. (1660–1668).

The island of Martinique has been frequently the point of struggle in the West Indian warfare. Labat describes it early in the eighteenth century, and gives us maps and plans of the Ville Royal, with its forts and the Fort St. Pierre. The attack of the English upon the French there and elsewhere in the Antilles is particularly described, with a plan of the naval and land attack, in Captain Richard Gardiner's *Account of the expedition to the West Indies against Martinico, with the reduction of Guadelupe, etc., subject to the French king, 1759* (Birmingham, 1762; also in a French translation, 1762). Cf. *London Mag*, 1758. Martinique with St. Lucia and St. Vincent were again taken by the British in 1762, under Rodney and Monckton. Mante gives a map taken before its attack, and there is another in the *London Mag.*, Apr., 1762. The island reverted to France under the treaty of Paris, 1763. Of the later capture by the British in 1794, we have a large folio by Cooper Willyams, *An account of the Campaign in the West Indies, in 1794, under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, with the reduction of Martinique* (London, 1796). The Peace of Amiens (1802) carried the island again to the French, and in 1815 the English put down a Bonapartist revolt there and confirmed the French rule.

The first actual English settlement at St. Lucia was in 1638. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series*, vol. v. p. lxvi. We must also refer to the *Memorials of the English and French Commissaries* (London, 1755; see *ante*, V., 476), and the war scenes as narrated in Mante's *Late War* (London, 1772). The history of St. Vincent runs in part parallel with that of St. Lucia. Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Col. series*, vol. v. (1660–1668). There is an *Historical account of the island of St. Vincent*, by Charles Sheppard (London, 1831). Papers concerning the expedition against the Caribs in St. Vincent, in 1772, are contained in *Papers laid before the House of Commons* (London, 1773). Cf. Sir William Young's *Account of the Black Charaibs in the island of St. Vincents, with the Charaib Treaty of 1773, and other original documents* (London, 1795).

The English took possession of the depopulated Barbadoes in 1625. The rival claims of Carlisle, Montgomery, Marlborough and Courteen are traced in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series*, vol. i.; and later history in vol. v. (1660–1668)

There was in these earliest days some transient connection with New England (cf. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxxix. 132; *Narragansett Reg.*, iii. 230, 282). Nicholas Darnell Davis goes over the early history in his *Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbadoes, 1650–52* (Georgetown, Brit. Guiana, 1887). Cf. *A Brefe Relation of the late horrid Rebellion acted in the island of Barbadoes, — acted by the Waldronds and their abettors, 1650 Written at sea by Nicholas Foster* (London, 1650). R. Ligon's *True and exact history of the Barbadoes* (London, 1657, 1673), with a large folding-map, showing the houses of the planters. Cf. the map in Henri Justel's *Recueil de divers Voyages* (Paris, 1674) Samuel Clark's *True and faithful Account of the four chiefest plantations of the English in America; to wit, of Virginia, New England, Bermudas, Barbados* (London. 1670). Blome, in his *Jamaica* (1672), also told of Barbadoes. In the next century we have the narrative of Labat, with his map (vol. iv.). *Some Memoirs of the first settlement of the island of Barbados, to 1741* (Barbados, 1741). The Voyage of Robert in Green's *Voyages* (vol. i.). *Defence of the Conduct of Barbadoes during the late expedition to Martinique and Guadeloupe* (London, 1760). George Frere's *Short History of Barbados to 1767* (London, 1768). Frere is called partial and unfair in *Remarks* on his book (Barbados, 1768). Jefferys' *French Dominion.* John Poyer's *History of Barbados from the first discovery in 1605 till 1801* (London, 1808). R. H. Schomburgk's *History of Barbadoes* (London, 1848).

Labat will serve us again for Grenada in the early part of the eighteenth century, with text and maps. Later we have help in John Campbell's *Considerations on the Sugar Trade* (London, 1763). Beside the general histories we find an account of the French successes in their naval attack on the island, July 6. 1779, in the *Relation du combat naval de la Grenade* (Grenade, 1779), pp. 4, and *Relation de la prise de la Grenade* (Grenade, 1779), pp. 44. There are also some minor contemporary accounts of the revolt in 1795: Gordon Turnbull's *Narrative of the revolt of the French inhabitants in the island of Grenada* (Edinburgh, 1795; London, 1796); *A brief inquiry into the quelling of the insurrection in Grenada* (London, 1796); and John Hay's *Narrative of the insurrection in the island of Grenada, 1795* (London, 1823).

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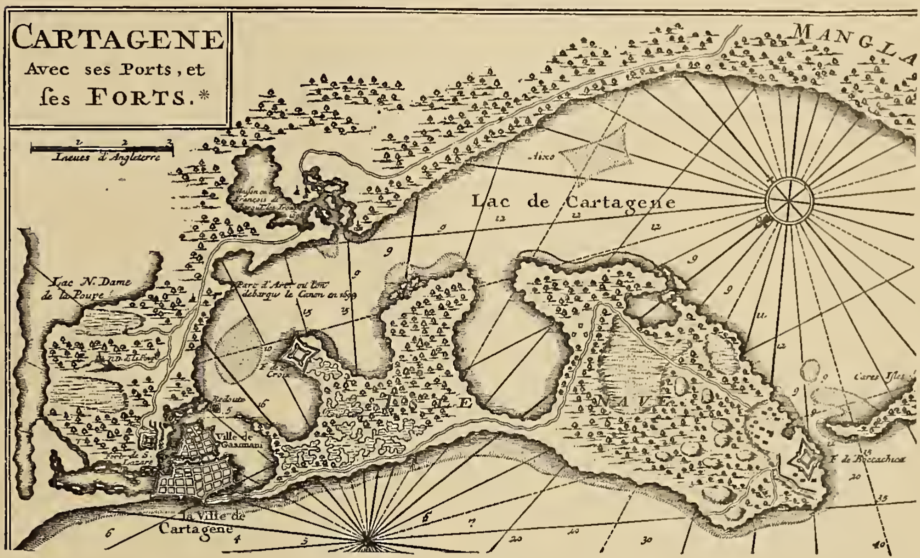
[1] Cf. also the map in Gardiner's *Acc. of the exped.*, etc. (1762).

Of Tobago we find several accounts: César de Rochefort's *Tableau de l'isle de Tobago* (Leyden, 1665; Paris, 1666; in German, Hamburg, n. d., and 1717); Capt. John Poyntz's *Present Prospect of the famous and fertile island of Tobago* (London, 3d ed., 1695); J. C. P.'s *Tobago, insulæ Caraibicæ in America* (Hagæ Comitis, 1705?; Groniugæ, 1727). Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Col. series*, vol. v. (1660–68).

Of Trinidad we have a recent history in P. G. L. Borde's *Histoire de l'île de la Trinidad sous le gouvernement Espagnol*, 1498–1797 (Paris, 1876), in two volumes. Cf. also W. H. Gamble's *Trinidad, historical and descriptive* (London, 1866); E. L. Joseph's *History of Trinidad, 1498–1837* (Trinidad, 1838).



Two years before Lima was established as the capital of the Spanish viceroyalty in South America, Carthagena, the first Spanish city on the continent, was founded by royal authority in 1533, and it speedily became, and for a long time remained, the centre of Spanish-American prowess and commerce on the Spanish main. The three signal events in its history were the attack upon its fortifications by Drake in 1585, the French plunder of it in 1697, and the futile attack of the English in 1741.

The measure of Drake's success in his predatory expedition of 1585 (*ante*, Vol. III. p. 73), in which not only Carthagena, but Saint Augustine and San Domingo were made to experience the English audacity, was reckoned by the bullion which, on his return to London, he delivered at the Tower. An enumeration dated Dec. 26, 1585, was found among the Salisbury MSS., and is noted in the *Historical MSS. Commission Report*, iv. 223. A plan of Carthagena at the time of Drake's attack was discovered in 1884, in the Archives of the Admiralty at Whitehall, marked "Johannes Baptista me fecit, 1586," and is described in the *London Athenæum*, June 26, 1884, p. 62. There are two contemporary engraved plans of the attack, differing from each other, in the *Expeditio Francisci Draki* (Leyden, 1588), and in the English version of it, *Summarie*, etc., published at London in 1589. It was included in the first collected edition of the Drake narratives, *Sir Francis Drake revived* (London, 1652–53). See *ante*, III. 79, 80. A narrative is also included, with a plan, in Gottfriedt's *Newe Welt*[1] (p. 352).

Of the French attack on Carthagena, in 1697,[2] we have an account by the commander of the expedition in Baron Jean Bernard Louis Desjean de Pointis's *Relation de l'expédition de Carthagene faite par les Français en 1697* (Paris and Amsterdam, 1698), which has a large plan of the town. An English version was published in

[1] Cf. the view from Montanus, *ante*, Vol. II. p. 192.

[2] Bibliography in Sabin, xv. p. 234.

* Reduced from Coreal's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1722), vol. i.

London in 1699, *Account of the taking of Carthagena by the French*, which also had a plan of the harbor and forts (Carter-Brown, ii. no. 1547). Soon after appeared *Monsieur de Pointi's* [sic] *Expedition to Cartagena, being a particular relation, etc., Englished from the original* (London, 1699). Forty years later, when the English in their turn were contemplating an attack, the same narrative was twice reprinted: —

A genuine and particular account of the taking of Carthagena by the French and buccaniers, in 1697. With a preface, giving an account of the original of Carthagena in 1532, to the present time (London, 1740); *An authentick and particular account of the taking of Carthagena by the French, in 1697* [*etc.*]. *2d ed.* (London, 1740). It was also included in Daniel Coxe's *Collection of Voyages* (London, 1741). Cf. *ante*, Vol. V. 69.

ADMIRAL VERNON.*

The affair was not without rivalries, and sides were taken by the adherents of Pointis and of Du Casse, the leader of the buccaneers. Pointis was defended in a *Relation de ce qui s'est fait à la prise de Carthagene, scituée aux Indes Espagnoles, par l'escadre commandée par M. de Pointis* (Bruxelles, 1698), which was written by an officer of the fleet. The defence of Du Casse, who was governor of San Domingo, was undertaken in *Relation fidele de l'expédition de Cartagene* (1699). Cf. C. B. Norman's *Corsairs of France* (London, 1887), p. 110

It was over forty years before Carthagena again became the centre of naval interest, and in this interval we find frequent reminders of its earlier experiences in the plans and views of the town and bay. Cf. Coreal's *Voyage;* Charlevoix's *Espagnole* (Amsterdam, 1723), vol. iv. p. 318; Laval's *Voyage de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1728), p. 68; D'Anville's *Plan de la Baye de Carthagene, tiré d'une carte espagnole* (1730).

The campaign, which the English Admiral Vernon undertook in the interests of a home faction, when he sailed to the West Indies in 1739, was in the end a disgraceful failure. War had been declared in 1739 against Spain, to punish her for the way in which she had permitted her cruisers in the West Indies to disturb British commerce. Vernon had boasted in the British Parliament that he could capture Porto Bello with six ships, and he made good his word, as has elsewhere been shown.[1] This success led to more ambitious schemes, and he was entrusted with a large fleet in order to capture Carthagena, and Anson was dispatched with a coöperating fleet to the Pacific to assail the Spanish possessions on that side. Disabled by a storm, Anson was delayed in reaching the upper coasts of South America and the Isthmus, only to learn that Vernon had been worsted at Carthagena, and he returned home, as already related, by the western route. Vernon, who had made his way into the great bay of Carthagena with his powerful armament, failed largely through the want of harmony which existed between him and Wentworth, the commander of the land forces, and this led to a war of pamphlets. These contemporary publications are as follows: —

The Conduct of Admiral Vernon examined and vindicated (London, 1741).

Original Papers relative to the Expedition to Carthagena (London, 1744).

Authentic Papers relative to the Expedition against Carthagena (London, 1744).

An Account of the Expedition to Carthagena, with explanatory notes and observations (London, 1743, three eds.,; Dublin), and an answer called *A Journal of the Expedition to Carthagena* (London, 1744, two eds.; Dublin, 1744). Tobias Smollett, the novelist, who as a surgeon's mate took part in this expedition, has left some graphic descriptions in his *Roderic Random*, and furnished an account of it in his *Compendium of Voyages* (1756), which is usually printed in his *Miscellaneous Works* as "An account of the expedition against Carthagena."[2]

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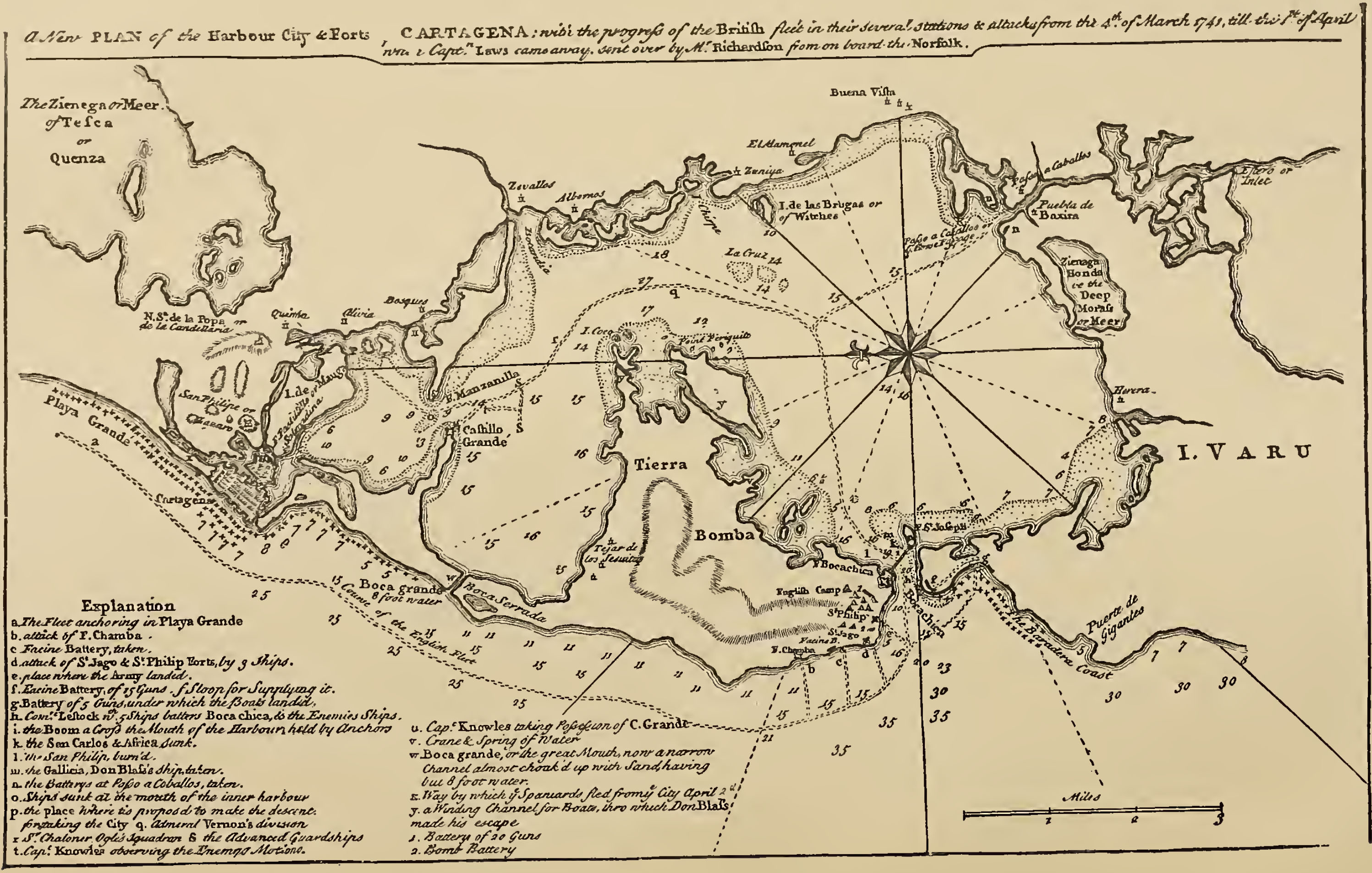
[1] *Ante*, ch. 4.

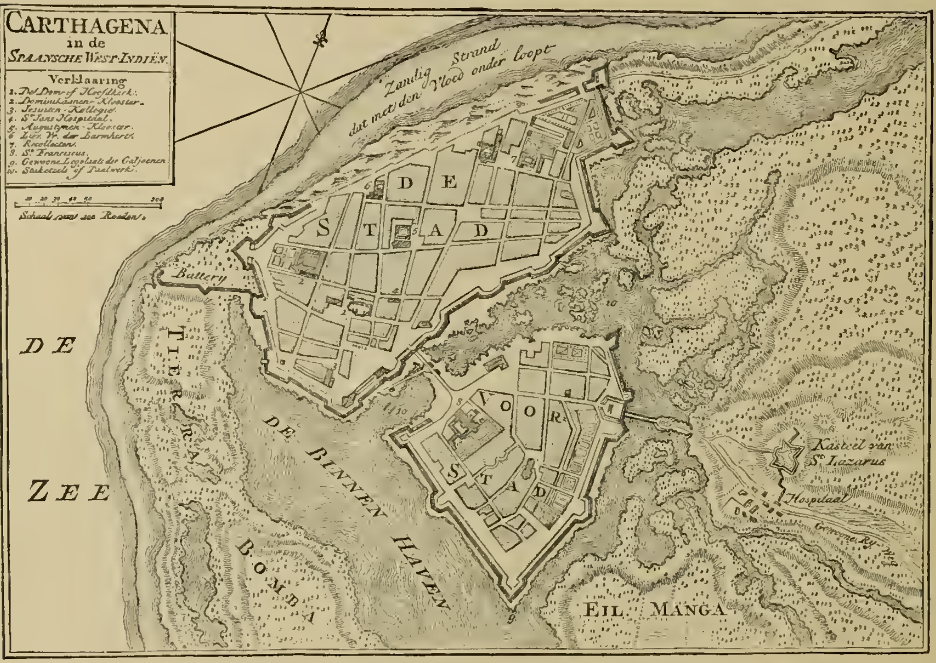
[2] Of the English colonies to the northward, Virginia and Massachusetts furnished 500 men each to the military force which was engaged. Only about 50 of the Massachusetts men returned. Ellis Ames has given an account of the part of Massachusetts in the business, — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1881.

* From a cut in *The Englishman's Evening Post* (London, May 15–17, 1740).


A New PLAN of the Harbour City & Forts, CARTAGENA: with the progreſs of the Britiſh fleet in their several stations & attacks from the 4th of March 1741, till the 1st of April when Capt.n Laws came away. sent over by Mr. Richardſon from on board the Norfolk.
The Zienega or Meer of Teſca or Quenza
N.S.a de la Popa or de la Candelaria
Quinta
Alivia
Bosques
Zevallos
Albornos
Chispe
Zeniya
El Alamenel
Buena Viſta
I. de las Brugas or of Witches
La Cruz
Paſso a Caballos
Puebla de Baxira
Zienaga Honda or the Deep Moraſs or Meer
Eſtero or Inlet
Herera
I. VARU
San Philipe or Chacaro
I. de Manga
Playa Grande
Cartagena
Manzanilla
Caſtillo Grande
I. Coco
Point Periquito
Tierra Bomba
Tejar de los Jesuitas
Boca grande 8 foot water
Boca Serrada
Course of the English Fleet
Bocachica
English Camp
St. Philip
St. Jago
Facine B.
F. Chamba
St. Joseph
Baradera Coast
Puerto de Gigantes
Explanation
a. The Fleet anchoring in Playa Grande
b. attack of F. Chamba.
c. Facine Battery, taken.
d. attack of St. Jago & St. Philip Forts, by 3 Ships.
e. place where the Army landed.
f. Facine Battery, of 15 Guns. f Sloop for Supplying it.
g. Battery of 5 Guns, under which the Boats landed.
h. Comr. Lestock wth 5 Ships batters Boca chica, & the Enemies Ships.
i. the Boom a Croſs the Mouth of the Harbour, held by Anchors
k. the San Carlos & Africa sunk.
l. the San Philip, burn'd.
m. the Gallicia, Don Blaſs's Ship, taken.
n. the Batterys at Paſso a Caballos, taken.
o. Ships sunk at the mouth of the inner harbour
p. the place where tis propos'd to make the descent for taking the City q. Admiral Vernon's division
r. Sr. Chaloner Ogle's Squadron & the Advanced Guardships
t. Capt. Knowles observing the Enemys Motions.
u. Capt. Knowles taking Poſseſsion of C. Grande
v. Crane & Spring of Water
w. Boca grande, or the great Mouth, now a narrow Channel almost choak'd up with Sand, having but 8 foot water.
x. Way by which ye Spaniards fled from ye City April 2d
y. a Winding Channel for Boats, thro which Don Blaſs made his escape
1. Battery of 20 Guns
2. Bomb Battery
Miles
1
2
3

ATTACK ON CARTHAGENA, 1741.

There was a Spanish journal of the siege printed at Madrid in August, 1741, of which a French version, *Journal du Siège de Carthagène*, was published in Paris in Sept., 1741. Cf. the memorandum in Calvo's *Recueil des Traités*, iv. 54.



NOTE. — There is an English plan by Jefferys very similar to this.

NOTE TO MAP ON PAGE 293. — Reduced from a map in *An Account of the Expedition to Carthagena*, 2d ed. (Lond., 1743). Captain Laws, mentioned at the top of this map, also attested, as brought over by him a similar but much larger plan, published in London, May 29, 1741, as *The Harbor, town and several forts of Carthagena in which is exhibited a perfect view of the English fleet as they anchored all along the coast in the bay near the town, and also after they moved and laid under the forts of St. Jago and St. Philipe, and at the Boca-Chica, or mouth of the harbour; likewise of the English ships as they moved in different parts in the harbor in order to lay siege to the town.*

The maps illustrating the siege are numerous, as issued in anticipation or in consequence: *London Magazine*, April, 1740. Alcedo y Herrera's *Aviso ... con las noticias del Perú, Tierra Firme, Chile y Nuevo Regno de Granada, 1730–40* (Madrid, 1740). *A Geographical Description of the coasts, harbors and sea ports of the Spanish West Indies* (London, 1740); a rude plan in *The Newsman's Interpreter* (Manchester, Eng., 1741, second ed.). Prévost's *Voyages*, 1756, vol. xiii., and the *Allg. Hist. der Reisen*, ix., xv. Ulloa's *Voyage*, Tomas Lopez's *Atlas geographico de la America Sept.* (Madrid, 1758). Jefferys' *Description of the Spanish islands* (London. 1762), and in later collections. *Staat van Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1766), i. 316. *Carte topographique de la baye, Ville et Faubourg de Cartagene, 1741*, with side plans of the several forts, by Beaurain (Paris). Another French plan, *Cartagene avec ses ports et fortresses.*

A German map published at "Norimbergae ab Hermann heridibus," — *Neu und verbesserter Plan des Havens von Carthagena nach dem Entwurf des Pr. Chassereau, Archt, 1740, nach Engelland gebracht.*

The British Museum *Catalogue of King's Maps* (i. 210, 211) shows various MS. plans, dated 1739, 1741, 1743, 1767. There are early views of the town by Van der Aa and by Carolus Allard.

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